

UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL

ANNALS  
OF  
ARCHAEOLOGY  
AND  
ANTHROPOLOGY

ISSUED BY THE  
INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY

EDITED BY  
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VOL. XVIII Nos. 3—4  
MCMXXXI

THE UNIVERSITY PRESS OF LIVERPOOL

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## TWO STATUETTES OF AN ENTHRONED GODDESS

BY E. DOUGLAS VAN BUREN

WITH PLATES XIV-XVI

IN the Yale Babylonian Collection is the stone statuette of a goddess seated upon a low throne without any back.<sup>1</sup> Her head has been broken off, but her long hair hung down behind almost to her waist. She wears a necklace and a flounced robe, the distinctive dress of divinities of the higher ranks. But this is a sewn garment and has a round border at the neck, and the ample stuff, caught up and draped over the folded arms, gives the effect of sleeves. The robe reaches decorously to her bare feet, each succeeding flounce being a little broader and fuller than the one above. Her hands are joined against her chest, but they are badly rubbed, and one can only just make out that the outstretched fingers of the right hand are clasped from below by the upturned fingers of the left, while the two thumbs cross on the top. The toes and part of the left foot are broken away, but the right is still intact; it is merely blocked out, the divisions between the toes being marked by incised lines. The statuette is of limestone and the present height is 15 cm. (Pl. XIV).

The throne is very simple, almost square, but rising a little at the sides, which may imply that the actual seat was of woven stuff like the little clay models found in great numbers at Babylon and Susa, or else of laced thongs like the wooden chairs found in the Royal Graves at Ur.

1. My thanks are due to Professor Raymond P. Dougherty, Director of the Babylonian Collection, Yale University, for allowing me to publish the statuette in the Yale Collection, and to Mr. Kimball, Director of the Pennsylvania Museum, for a like permission in the case of the Nippur statuette, of which he most generously supplied the photographs. Dr. Léon Legrain, Curator of the Babylonian Section, Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, was very kind in procuring for me prints from the collection of excavation photographs in the possession of the Museum. M. le Professeur Louis Delaporte and his publishers, the Librairie Hachette, very courteously gave their consent to the reproduction of the cylinder seals from the plates of the *Catalogue des cylindres orientaux du Musée du Louvre*.



But the chief interest of the throne lies in the objects carved in relief on the panels at the back and sides. The left panel is adorned with two vessels, a tall jar with a gently curving body which seems to diminish towards a foot which is thick, but scarcely exceeds the diameter of the base, and a big, round-bodied pot with a wide mouth into which a smaller vase is thrust. The wide panel at the back gives room for a display of four implements. To left, on a low stand, are two jars like those illustrated on the side panels, but only about half the size. To right, on a ribbed object like a plate-rack, is a round strainer with a long handle, and a second implement of much the same type, perhaps a dipper. On the right panel are two jars like the one on the left panel, but taller and bigger; they are not quite of equal height, but approximately so.

A statuette in the Pennsylvania Museum was found at Nippur, and was for many years in the Hilprecht Collection.<sup>1</sup> It is of the same type as the one in the Yale Collection, for it represents a goddess seated with clasped hands on a low, square seat, and, unfortunately, it also is headless. Here again the goddess wears a flounced robe of the same variety, with a round opening at the neck, below which an unbroken flounce hangs across her chest and over both shoulders. At the back her long hair hangs down in a thick mass to her waist, marked out by incised lines into squares to suggest the ripple and sheen of her abundant locks. Her clasped hands are pressed against her chest, and here it is easy to see that the outstretched fingers of her right hand were laid in the upturned fingers of her left; but the fingers are thick and lifeless, and the modelling is very coarse. The feet likewise are poorly rendered, roughly carved lumps with grooves to indicate the divisions of the toes. The goddess sits upon a cushion, and the panels of the throne are decorated in low relief with vessels very similar to those on the throne of the statuette in the Yale Collection. On the left panel is a high cylindrical vase with straight sides and without any foot or rim, and a small bowl or cup with a wide mouth surrounded by a rim, and with sides which diminish rapidly to the base, where it is finished off by a knob or thick foot which perhaps enabled the vessel to stand on a flat surface; both are pitted with dots, and may have been of metal. At the back is a big jar like those thrice depicted on the throne of the Yale statuette, but here the foot is more distinct and seems almost square, and there is also a bucket-shaped receptacle with a wide handle

1. *Pennsylvania Mus. Bull.*, XXVI (1930), p. 11; Legrain, *Museum Journal*, XVIII (1927), p. 233, figs. pp. 232, 234.

bent over from side to side of the top rim. It looks almost like a basket, and may have served to carry non-liquid objects, such as cheese or butter. On the right panel is a veritable basket, coarsely woven of strips of palm leaves (Pl. XV).

The vases depicted on this throne have been described as measuring-pots, a very possible interpretation, for they are of various sizes and capacities. But they are of such different types that they must have been made to serve many different purposes, whereas measuring-pots were usually all of the same type, but larger or smaller according to the amount of liquid they were guaranteed to contain, and the fact that one of the objects is a basket suggests that we must seek another explanation. These vessels were carved on the throne of a goddess, therefore they played an important part in the cult of that goddess.

But stone statuettes are not the only works which illustrate the connexion with the goddess. A little clay 'chair-relief' was found during the excavations of Dr. Julius Jordan at Warka in 1928-29.<sup>1</sup> The upper part is unfortunately broken off, but the group must have depicted a divine couple, a god and a goddess seated side by side upon a long, low couch. All that remains of the two figures is the part from the knees down. The goddess, wearing a flounced dress, sat on the right of the god, and lying on the seat between them was the model of an adze or knife; on what is left uncovered of the front part of the seat is a model in low relief of a tall jar just like those carved on the thrones of the statuettes. Evidently the knife was an attribute of the god, the big jar alluded to the cult of his consort.

A steatite cylinder seal in the Louvre, MNB. 1327, portrays a scene of the worship of a goddess.<sup>2</sup> She sits facing left upon a very low seat placed on raised ground. Her horned cap has a single pair of horns, her long hair hangs down her back, and she wears a flounced robe of the usual type, arranged diagonally across her chest so as to leave her right arm uncovered. On her knee is an enormous nude child, with one strange lock of hair like a pig-tail sprouting from his otherwise bald head, who turns back his head to look at her, but stretches out one arm toward a bearded man clad in a fringed shawl who approaches to offer the cup or drinking-horn he carries with both hands. Behind him is a three-legged stool

1. Warka, 4918.

2. Menant, *Glypt. or.*, I, fig. 104; Delaporte, *Cat. cyl. or.*, II, p. 114, A. 176, Pl. 74, fig. 5; Ward, *S.C.*, fig. 404; Heuzey, *Origines orientales de l'art*, p. 93; Perrot, *H.A.A.*, II, fig. 335.



supporting an immense pot with which a woman who kneels on the further side is occupied, either in an endeavour to move it, or more likely to sample the contents. On a shelf in the background are three tall jars like those seen on the thrones. Behind the throne of the goddess grows a leafy tree; evidently this is intended for a rural scene. M. Delaporte considers that the seal belongs to the period of Agade (Pl. XVI, fig. 1).

Another cylinder seal, also attributed to the time of the Dynasty of Agade, illustrates a scene of the worship of a goddess.<sup>1</sup> She sits upon a seat without a back, clad in a flounced robe and a horned crown. Her long hair hangs loosely over her shoulders, and she holds a flower in one hand and raises the other in acknowledgment of the bearded worshipper clad in a fringed shawl who approaches her, bearing in both arms a large, shaggy goat. He is followed by a woman, also wearing a fringed shawl, who holds in her lowered left hand a bucket or wide-mouthed receptacle, somewhat like that pictured on the throne of the Nippur statuette. On the left of the scene a woman, also clad in a fringed shawl, but drawn on a smaller scale, busies herself with a round-bodied pot on a stool placed beside a huge jar standing on the ground. In the field are an unusually big star and a disk above a crescent. The flower in the goddess's hand suggests that the scene takes place in the country, and all the accessories imply that this is another version of the cult depicted on the other seal (Pl. XVI, fig. 2).

A third cylinder seal was found at Susa and is now in the Louvre, A.S. 5369.<sup>2</sup> Its period is that of the Third Dynasty of Ur, and it is engraved in a peculiar fashion which suggests the details it does not actually reproduce. A divinity sits, facing to left, upon a low seat covered with a cushion. In her right hand she holds a goblet on a high stem. Before her stands a being who may be a minor deity, as her clothing is exactly like that of the seated figure. Between them a big pot stands on the ground, and three pots of the same type are aligned on a high table or dresser in the background on the left (Pl. XVI, fig. 4).

Just the same pots figure abundantly on another cylinder seal from Susa,<sup>3</sup> also of the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur, where a seated figure,

1. Louvre, Inv. A.O.D. 21; Dieulafoy, *Acropole de Suse*, fig. 334; Delaporte, *Cat. cyl. or.*, I, p. 69, Pl. 50, fig. 5.

2. *Mém. de la Délégation en Perse*, VII, p. 95, Pl. xxii, No. 9; Delaporte, *Cat. cyl. or.*, I, p. 60, S. 495, Pl. 34, fig. 5.

3. Louvre, Inv. A.S. 16065; Delaporte, *Cat. cyl. or.*, I, p. 60, S. 499, Pl. 34, fig. 9; Pézard, *Intailles susiennes*, *Mém.* XII, p. 121, fig. 131.

presumably a goddess, stretches out her right hand in welcome to the person who stands before her. Between them is a bird, and in the field is a crescent. But behind the goddess nine pots, all exactly alike, are ranged in three rows of three pots each, evidently a complete storehouse (Pl. XVI, fig. 3).

A white marble seal in the Louvre, MN. 126, was acquired in 1849 (Pl. XVI, fig. 5).<sup>1</sup> It presents an unusual version of a scene of a libation offered to a divinity. To right is a temple with twin doors. On a low couch or seat sits a female figure with long hair and a garment reaching to her ankles. She must be a goddess, for she holds out a cup into which a man standing in front of her pours liquid from a spouted vessel of the type used only when offering a libation to a deity. In the background is a big, round-bodied pot which diminishes at the bottom almost to a point. On the left is another goddess, apparently seated upon a row of six pots much like those carved on the thrones, and in the background behind her are two more pots resembling the one in the left panel of the throne in the Yale Collection. This goddess wears a long robe, and her hair hangs down her back in what looks like a pigtail, but is probably intended to represent a mass of flowing locks. The Hittites of a certain period wore their hair in a braid, but in Mesopotamia and Assyria the custom was rare. The vase fragment from Bismaya depicts men with their hair braided in a long tress.<sup>2</sup> A tail hangs down from the back of the heads of the defeated foe on the *stele* of Naram-Sin, but that may be an ornament attached to their headdress. Seal impressions of the seals of Lugal-ushumgal and Dada the Magician demonstrate that a single lock of hair hanging down behind was supposed to represent unbound hair.<sup>3</sup> Consequently the locks of the strange beings on two archaic cylinder seals must be explained in the same way,<sup>4</sup> and with even greater certainty the peculiar arrangement of the hair on the two larger heads in the lower register of a fragmentary limestone relief found at Ur.<sup>5</sup> This suggests that the single lock of hair growing out from the head of the child on the knees of the goddess shown on MNB. 1327 may really be intended for

1. A. de Longpérier, *Notice des antiq. assyr.* (3e. éd. 1854), No. 456; Delaporte, *Cat. cyl. or.*, II, p. 106, A. 117, Pl. 69, fig. 9.

2. Banks, *Bismaya*, p. 268; Meissner, *Alte Orient*, XV, fig. 12.

3. Delaporte, *Cat. cyl. or.*, I, pp. 11-12, T. 105, Pl. 9, figs. 3 a, b; p. 12, T. 107, Pl. 9, figs. 11 a, b.

4. Weber, *A.O.*, XVII/XVIII, figs. 215-16; Ward, *S.C.*, figs. 141, 144.

5. C.B.S. 16682; Legrain, *Mus. Jour.*, XX (1929), Pl. xi.



more abundant tresses. The shape of the cup held by the first goddess seems to be like the one to right on the left panel of the throne from Nippur. The two doors imply that the temple was consecrated to the worship of two deities housed under one roof, each of whom had her own separate shrine and cult. The seal belongs to the time of the Dynasty of Agade, a time when priests had long ceased to minister nude, and this priest is decently clothed in a cloth wrapped round his waist and reaching almost to his knees; the vessel from which he pours reveals the fact that this is a combination of a scene of libation to a deity and the rarer subject of the cult of the patroness of rural products.

A Hittite seal in the Morgan Collection may bear upon the subject, although it belongs to another cycle.<sup>1</sup> A goddess, wearing a flounced robe and a headband, sits on a low seat and raises one hand in salutation to a worshipper who approaches her bearing a small vase. Between them is an enormous, round-bodied pot with a short neck and open mouth. On the left is an architectural structure and the figure of a bull or cow apparently walking forward. This is described as 'the idol of a bull on an altar protected by a daïs.' But to term the figure of the bull an 'idol' implies that it was worshipped, and at that comparatively early date there is no evidence of such a practice in that region. The drawing is puerile, and it is more likely that the artist intended to depict the animal issuing from its stall, as seen in the milking frieze from Ur, or on certain archaic stone bowls.<sup>2</sup>

There is a fragmentary stone relief from Susa which repeats many of the vessels depicted on the two thrones, and helps to explain the purpose for which they were used.<sup>3</sup> The upper register is almost destroyed, but on the right a cuboid seat and the legs and feet turned to left of the person seated on the throne, and also another pair of feet of someone advancing from the left, can be seen; evidently a worshipper before a seated divinity. In what is preserved of the lower register are three men with thick, wig-like hair and beards, clad in short skirts with the lower edge scalloped. One man faces to right and stretches out his arms with a small round bowl in his right hand, and in his left a cup with wide, open mouth and

1. Ward, *Cyl. and other anc. Or. Seals*, pp. 81-82, Pl. xxiv, No. 173; Weber, *A.O.*, XVII/XVIII, p. 108, fig. 421; Contenau, *Manuel d'archéol. or.*, I, fig. 133; Andrae, *Gotteshaus*, p. 65, fig. 66.

2. Andrae, *Gotteshaus*, Pl. ii, a-c; also the frieze of terra-cotta slabs, Jordan, *Abh. der Preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften*, 1930, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Nr. 4, pp. 33-39, figs. 23-30.

3. *Mém.*, XIII, p. 64, Pl. xl, fig. 3.



receding sides, the counterpart of the one on the left side of the Nippur throne. On the ground between him and the man facing him is a very big, high-shouldered jar with a distinct neck, and from it the man on the right seems intent upon ladling out some liquid by means of a long-handled dipper, perhaps like the one on the back panel of the Yale throne. This man is followed by another, also facing to left, who stands holding up a large jar with high shoulders and a rather long neck, a more pronounced example of the type shown to left on the back panel of the Nippur throne.

The frieze with the milking scene from al-'Ubaid affords a further explanation of the use of these vases.<sup>1</sup> One man thrusts his arm into a very big pithos to scour it, another pours the milk from a jar like those represented on both thrones and on the seals. The vessel into which he pours is like an immense goblet on a high stem, a greatly enlarged example of the goblet which the goddess holds on the seal from Susa, A.S. 5369.

The scenes represented on the seals all illustrate various phases of the cult of a rural goddess in whose honour, as the settings show, rites were sometimes performed in the open air, and who was a patroness of some country product, apparently liquid, since it could be stored in jars of various capacities, or drawn off and offered in small cups and goblets of different shapes. I have endeavoured elsewhere to show that there was a rite concerned with milk in all its aspects, and that the king, as head of his people and their representative before the divinity, was the chief ministrant of that rite.<sup>2</sup> The statuettes and the scenes engraved on the cylinder seals show the other part of the ritual, the goddess to whom the flocks and herds and the first bowl of milk they produced were dedicated. The vessels carved on the thrones were the same types as those figured in the frieze of the milking scene; therefore we may surmise that they were such as were made especially for dairy use. The big pots served to store the milk, or to contain it when it had to be transported in large quantities. They are all ready for use on a cylinder seal from Susa, where a man milks a goat and the king samples the milk in a small cup.<sup>3</sup> This cup with diminishing sides and a knob at the base is demonstrated by the seals to have been the proper receptacle in which

1. Hall and Woolley, *al-'Ubaid*, pp. 88-94, Pl. xxxi, figs. 1-3; Woolley, *Antiquaries Journal*, IV (1924), pp. 341-42, Pl. xlii, a, b; Gadd, *Hist. and Mon. of Ur*, p. 14, Pl. xv.

2. *Annals of Arch. and Anthropol.*, XVII (1930), pp. 39-56, Pls. IX-XI.

3. A.S.A. 7234; Delaporte, *Cat. cyl. or.*, I, p. 57, S. 464, Pl. 33, fig. 2; Pézard, *Mém.*, XII, pp. 114-15, fig. 112.

a sample of the milk was offered to the goddess. The dippers were used to ladle milk out of the great containers; apparently the tall vase with straight sides on the left panel of the Nippur throne was used for the same purpose, for on the left panel of the throne in the Yale Collection it is seen thrust into the open mouth of the big, squat pot. The strainer, if such it was, served to skim off the cream, but the bucket depicted on the back of the Nippur throne, and carried by the woman on the seal from Susa, A.O.D. 21, seems better adapted to contain cheeses or butter, and so does the basket from the side panel. In addition to the great pot of milk pictured on the seal, Morgan Coll. No. 173, there is a cow coming forth from the byre, which links the scene with the far earlier representations of the subject given on the stone bowls and the friezes from Ur and Warka. All the vases are simple and utilitarian in form, and can easily be paralleled among the numbers of vases found at Ur, Fara, Ashur, Susa and other sites.<sup>1</sup>

Having discussed the meaning of the statuettes we must now consider the question of their date. As the head, the most characteristic part, is broken off in both cases we must rely upon other evidence. One important point is the way in which the hands are clasped; the right hand with the fingers straight out is laid in the left, the fingers of which are bent up to clasp it, while the thumbs cross on top and are pressed against the goddess's chest. Dr. Opitz has shown that this hand-clasp is rarely found before the time of Gudea, when it became universal.<sup>2</sup> But these feebly rendered hands contrast badly with the exquisitely modelled ones of statues of Gudea, and the feet of these statuettes are almost schematically rendered, for the toes, instead of being rounded and articulated, are merely indicated by grooved lines slashed into the block.

A flounced robe was the distinctive dress of a divinity from very early times; it was usually a long, narrow strip of soft woollen stuff which was wound round and round the body so that each succeeding turn partly overlapped the one beneath, and thus produced the effect of a series of flounces. It was put on diagonally across the chest, under the right arm, across the back and over the left shoulder, whence the end hung down and covered the arm which was folded against the body to

1. Tall jars, cf. *al-'Ubaid*, Pl. lvi, figs. 23, 25, Pl. lxi, fig. 1; round-bodied pot, cf. *Mém.*, XIII, Pl. xix, fig. 7; cup ending in a knob, cf. *Mém.*, XIII, Pl. xxiii, figs. 11, 12, 16; drinking-horn, cf. *Mém.*, XIII, Pl. xxiii, figs. 2, 6.

2. *Archiv für Orientforschung*, VI (1930), pp. 59-60.

keep the garment in place. But the dress worn by the statuettes was of a later type, perhaps sewn. The top width of the stuff seems to have been folded over, and then fastened on the shoulders with the long outer fold hanging free in such a way that it produced a circular flounce round the neck, and a lower piece was draped over the arms and looked like sleeves. On work of the time of Gudea the rippled vertical lines which indicate the soft texture of the stuff are drawn with delicacy and variety, so that each flounce is sharply defined. On these two statuettes the lines are almost mechanically regular, and run straight down from shoulders to feet with monotonous lifelessness, irrespective of the edges of the flounces. The pose of the figure is stiff, but that is partly due to the fact that one cannot sit with dignity in a lounging attitude on a seat without a back.

In order to date these statuettes accurately it is important to discover when the sewn flounced robe was introduced and by whom it was worn. There is a small group of statuettes all having the same characteristics; they represent a female figure seated on a cuboid seat without a back, and in almost every case the base makes rectangular turns below the front corners of the seat and then curves out in a semicircular projection to provide a resting place for the bare feet of the sitter. It is worth noting that almost all early statues have a base which is roughly round or oval, although a few have a rectangular base, for instance a statue of the transitional period from Lagash and one of a kneeling woman,<sup>1</sup> two statues from Ashur,<sup>2</sup> and a tiny statuette of a seated figure, VA. 2899.<sup>3</sup> But round, oval, or rectangular, none of the bases have a projection, with the sole exception of a seated figure of a ruler from Mari,<sup>4</sup> which has a base like that of the group of the seated goddess, for as such she may be designated, since the attitude, the distinctive dress, the fillet round her head, all mark her out as more than mortal.

Of the small group of statuettes portraying the goddess in this particular attitude only one, VA. 4854, still has its head intact.<sup>5</sup> Her face,

1. *Découvertes*, Pls. 6 bis, fig. 1a; 22 bis, fig. 3a, b.

2. Andrae, *Die archaischen Ishtar-Tempel in Assur*, Pls. 34, 35, 43 a-d.

3. *Annals of Arch. and Anthropol.*, XVII (1930), pp. 39-40, Pl. IX, figs. 1-3.

4. B.M. 90, 828; King, *Hist. of Sumer and Akkad*, p. 97, Pl. xi, b; *Guide* (1922), p. 58; Meyer, *Gesch. des Altertums* (5. Aufl. 1926), I, p. 504; Frank, *Kunstgesch. in Bildern*, I, 2. Heft, 41, 7.

5. Weber, *Amtl. Ber. Preuss. Kunstsaml.*, XXXVI (1915), p. 194, figs. 81-83; *Reallex. der Vorgeschichte*, IV, 2, p. 424, Pl. 200, a; Reimpell, *Gesch. babyl. und assyr. Kleidung*, p. 30, fig. 33.



with its childish, rounded features, is charming, and her unbound hair hangs down below her waist and is marked by incised squares drawn on the mass to typify the sheen and ripple. Round her head is a fillet bored at the side for the insertion of a metal ornament. She wears a sewn flounced robe, but the vertical lines on the flounces are straight, and have none of the vivacity of the finest work. On her knees lies a tablet, but she does not touch it, for her hands are clasped.

Another statuette worked out with dainty care was found at Lagash.<sup>1</sup> Its present height is 6 cm., for it was decapitated by a blow from a pick. There are traces of two side-locks hanging down in front on to her chest, the distinctive sign of a divinity. Her hands are clasped, and the tablet on her knees is ruled off into squares. The description of the discovery of this statuette does not afford any clue which would serve as a basis for dating the work.

At Lagash another headless figure came to light, this time on the *Tell des tablettes*<sup>2</sup>; but the work is coarser, the vertical lines being marked by shallow grooves. The goddess has a necklace of big beads, and a tablet (13×10 cm.) ruled off into squares lies on her lap. The statuette was found among tablets and ashes scattered over the ground, and close to a statue of Gudea, in a building, said to have been of the time of Gudea or a little later, which had been destroyed by fire. The statuette has been ascribed to the time of Gudea because it was found in a building presumably of his period, and near a statue which portrayed him. But in a temple, such as the building must have been, works of art were dedicated by succeeding generations, and the tablets among which the statuette lay ranged in date from the pre-Sargonic period to the time of the First Dynasty of Babylon. A very similar statuette found in more recent excavations at Lagash is now in the Louvre.

The tablet was not essential, for there is one example where it does not occur.<sup>3</sup> The goddess's long hair is particularly thick and abundant, and the ends curl up quite naturally. But the work is careless, the hands are poorly rendered, and the feet simply blocked out, the divisions between the toes being marked by grooved lines. An inscription incised on one

1. Heuzey, *Déc.*, p. 158, Pl. 25, fig. 3; *Cat. des antiq. chald.*, pp. 230-31, No. 92; Cros, *Nouvelles fouilles de Tello*, p. 235.

2. I.O.M.; Cros, *op. cit.*, p. 235, fig. in text; Unger, *R.L.V.*, VII, Pl. 141, c; *Sumerische u. Akkadische Kunst*, fig. 51.

3. Allotte de la Fuye, *Docum. présarg.*, Pl. iii, a, b; Frank, *Kunstgesch. in Bildern*, I, 2. Heft, 43, 11, 12.

shoulder is illegible with the exception of a proper name, probably that of the donor.

A figure of this type was found at Ur, lying in fragments on the floor of the temple of Ningal.<sup>1</sup> Only the front part of the body, the clasped hands, and the feet are preserved, as well as pieces proving that she wore a fillet and had long hair, and supplying evidence for a reconstruction. The workmanship of the drapery and of the hands and feet is excellent. The cuboid throne with column-like mouldings at the front corners is perfectly preserved, and fortunately so, for it fixes the date of the work, because the three sides are covered with a long dedication of the statuette to Ningal by Enannatum, the High Priest, son of Ishme-Dagan, King of Isin. Thus the statuette must have been carved in the last decades of the third millennium, and it demonstrates that even at a late period excellent work could be produced.

There is one statuette where the aspect of the goddess, the square seat, and the shape of the base all conform to the characteristics of this group, but her hands are not clasped, for with her left hand she clasps the slender neck of a round-bodied vase which she supports with her right hand. It is the type of vase from which two streams are often represented as bubbling forth, and is held by youthful goddesses on the basin of Gudea and the *stèle* of Ur-Nammu, and occasionally by enthroned male and female divinities, or by the so-called 'Wild Man.' This statuette is of alabaster, height 19 cm., and was acquired in Baghdad in 1862.<sup>2</sup> It has been tentatively dated to the age which preceded Gudea, but the features are thick, the heavy lids half cover the protruding eyes, which are plastically rendered, not inlaid as they usually were before and during the time of Gudea when the lids were cut with sharp edges which stood out from the eyeball, instead of covering it. Then the lips were thin and exquisitely chiselled, here they are full and pouting. The relief of Gudea being led into the presence of Ningirsu, VA. 2909, reveals with what sensitiveness the rippling lines on the flounced robes could be delineated; here the lines are straight grooves which run down from top to bottom,

1. C.B.S. 16229; Woolley, *Antiq. Jour.*, VI (1926), p. 376, Pl. lii, a; Legrain, *Mus. Jour.*, XVIII (1927), pp. 223-29, 3 figs.; Gadd, *Hist. and Mon. of Ur*, p. 152, Pl. xxii, b; *Royal Inscr.*, I, No. 103, p. 23, Pls. xviii and O.

2. De Longpérier, *Mus. Nap. III*, Pl. 1; Heuzey, *Cat. des antiq. chald.*, pp. 226-29, No. 89; *Origines orientales*, pp. 167-68, Pl. v; Perrot, *H.A.A.*, II, fig. 289; Frank, *Kunstgesch. in Bildern*, I, 2. Heft, 44, 1, 2; Handcock, *Mesop. Arch.*, fig. 34, C; Contenau, *Antiquités orientales*, Pl. 17.

irrespective of the flounces. The whole work is uninspired and conventional, and all the details mentioned are indicative of a date nearer to the time of Hammurabi than to that of Gudea.

The statuette of the goddess Bau discovered at Ur wears a robe just like that of the figures of the group under discussion, and her hands are clasped in the same manner, but her seat is flanked by two geese, and two more project from the front of the base to form her footstool.<sup>1</sup> The uncouth elements of the composition have been emphasised, the head is too big, the legs from knees to ankles are too short. It is clumsy work of the Isin-Larsa period.

Mr. Woolley has just announced the discovery at Ur of a small shrine situated at a place where four ways meet, and dedicated to the goddess Pa-Sag, as inscriptions on the votive objects lying around conclusively prove.<sup>2</sup> In the sanctuary niche the figure of the goddess was still standing, and on the floor of the main room lay another limestone statue with its head broken off, but easily readjustable. It is presumably another figure of the goddess Pa-Sag, and it portrays her with eyes inlaid and criss-cross lines in yellow paint on top of her head to represent a gold ribbon. A side-lock hangs forward over each shoulder, and she stands with hands clasped precisely in the manner of the seated statuettes. She has a necklace of many bands, and a flounced robe with a circular top flounce above a second, broken, flounce which covers her arms like sleeves. But the vertical lines on the flounces do not ripple, for they are so rigid and deeply grooved that the surface between them stands up like a series of isolated ridges. The figure is 53 cm. in height and is squat and badly proportioned; the feet also are summarily modelled. The shrine and its contents are dated about 2000 B.C.

There is a clay 'chair-relief' found at Lagash on *Tell B.*<sup>3</sup> It represents a goddess seated with clasped hands and wearing a *polos* on her head, a necklace of big beads, and a sewn flounced dress; this little work so closely resembles the stone statuettes that they must all have derived from the same prototype. There are also clay reliefs of the

1. Woolley, *Antiq. Jour.*, VI (1926), pp. 375-76, Pl. li, a, b; Gadd, *Hist. and Mon. of Ur*, p. 153, Pl. xxii, a; Legrain, *Mus. Jour.*, XVIII (1927), pp. 229-33, 2 figs. An almost identical statuette from Ur: *The Times*, March 20, 1931, p. 18, and *Illustrated London News*, March 21, 1931, p. 455, fig. 3.

2. Woolley, *The Times*, February 6, 1931, p. 15, fig. p. 18; *Illustrated London News*, February 7, 1931, p. 203, fig. 9.

3. A.O. 6641; Cros, *Nouvelles fouilles de Tello*, p. 301, fig. 16; Van Buren, *Clay Figurines of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 72, No. 383, figs. 96, 97.



goddess clad in this special garment; one is from Ur and shows her in frontal aspect, seated with her hands clasped.<sup>1</sup> Another shows her turned in three-quarter view to right, with her left arm outstretched as if to receive something.<sup>2</sup> This is precisely the attitude of the goddess seated on geese and holding the vase from which in certain other examples two streams of water flow down.<sup>3</sup> The analogy with the stone statuette shows that these reliefs must also represent Bau, but there is one clay relief which portrays a goddess of agriculture standing with a bunch of corn in her hand, whose attire links her with the group of stone statuettes, for her unbound hair hangs down her back, round her throat are several bands of a necklace, and she wears a sewn robe with a circular flounce over her shoulders.<sup>4</sup> Yet her arms are bare, and this fact demonstrates that the garment could not have had sleeves. The piece came from Babylon, a proof that it cannot be very early, for the soil was too water-logged to allow the excavators to penetrate below the Hammurabi stratum. Another very finely worked clay relief of the last quarter of the third millennium depicts a god and goddess moving to right; she lays a hand on her consort's shoulder.<sup>5</sup> They both wear a flounced robe, but that of the god leaves his right arm and shoulder bare, while that of the goddess is of the sewn variety with a circular flounce.

The same garment is worn by a copper statuette, VA. 2665, of a goddess with both hands raised in supplication. She has long hair and a necklace of many rings, and her features are rather heavy and plump, characteristics of work of the Isin period.

Cylinder seals are often on too small a scale, or are too schematic, to show details of dress clearly. A god or goddess seated or standing facing to right was generally depicted with the flounced robe covering the right shoulder and leaving the left bare, not because it was ever the custom to wear the dress in that manner, but simply because it was easier to draw the garment over the shoulder in the foreground of the composition; therefore the reversal of the usual arrangement was merely an artistic convention. But toward the end of the Third Dynasty of Ur and in the

1. C.B.S. 16269; Van Buren, *op. cit.*, p. 71, No. 382.

2. B.M. 116.808; *Antiq. Jour.*, V (1925), Pl. viii, fig. 2, No. 12; Van Buren, *op. cit.*, p. 73, No. 388.

3. C.B.S. 16268; Van Buren, *op. cit.*, p. 78, No. 408; cf. C.B.S. 16267, U. 978, 1162, 7076.

4. Birch, *Hist. of Anc. Pottery*, p. 102; Van Buren, *op. cit.*, p. 91, No. 455, fig. 125.

5. VA. 3909; Van Buren, *op. cit.*, p. 95, No. 475.

time of the First Dynasty of Babylon there are numerous cylinder seals which represent a goddess facing to right with both hands raised in supplication, and as the drapery covers her right shoulder and arm, and apparently the left also, it seems certain that she wore a sewn flounced robe.<sup>1</sup> There is one cylinder seal, however, dated in the time of the Dynasty of Agade, where a goddess, standing in frontal aspect, wears a flounced robe stretching across her chest and fastened on both shoulders,<sup>2</sup> but both her arms are bare, and one can see plainly that the upper portion of the garment hung free, and fell aside from the arms when the wearer moved. This seems to have been the first stage of the divergence from the usual flounced dress worn diagonally; probably it was not sewn at first, but the topmost flounce was drawn up as high as possible at the front and back and fastened on the shoulders by a pin thrust through the stuff.

A beautiful relief of black steatite illustrates the further development of the garment.<sup>3</sup> The goddess Ninsun sits facing to left; her long hair is kept in place by a fillet, and round her neck are numerous bands of a necklace. She raises her right hand, perhaps in salutation, but her arm is bare, although her flounced robe has a round border at the neck, and the two top flounces cover her chest and shoulders. One writer compares the dress to that depicted on a cylinder seal of the time of Pur-Sin of Isin, while others ascribe the relief to the time of Gudea or even to the later Sargonic period. The treatment is admirable, but the masterly working of such hard stone seems technically too advanced for the time of Gudea. This charming figure recalls the seated goddess on the *stele* of Ur-Nammu; her features are more classic than is usual in the time of Gudea, and resemble those of the seated goddess, VA. 4854. Numerous fragmentary statues testify that in the time of Shulgi artists had a partiality for working in hard, dark-coloured stone which took a high polish<sup>4</sup>; as some of these statues were found at Lagash, we may venture to suggest that this relief should also be ascribed to that period.

1. Janneau, *Rois d'Ur*, fig. p. 60; Louvre, AS. 10084; Delaporte, *Cat. cyl. or.*, I, p. 59, S. 485, Pl. 47, fig. 8; VA. 2720, Messerschmidt, *Amtl. Ber. Preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XXX (1909), col. 129, fig. 84; C.B.S. 8040, Legrain, *Culture of the Babylonians*, p. 241, Pl. lii, No. 328.

2. Louvre, A.O. 2485, Delaporte, *Cat. cyl. or.*, II, p. 109, A. 142, Pl. 71, fig. 10; Heuzey, *Origines orientales*, p. 360, fig. 5.

3. Heuzey, *Cat. des antiq. chald.*, pp. 145-47, No. 28; Meissner, *Der alte Orient*, XV, pp. 45-46, fig. 77; Reimpell, *Gesch. babyl. und assyr. Kleidung*, p. 7, No. 85.

4. *Antiq. Jour.*, VI (1926), p. 393, Pl. li, c; V (1925), p. 383; Heuzey, *Cat. des antiq. chald.*, Nos. 101, 109; King, *Hist. of Sumer and Akkad*, p. 275, Pl. xix.

Thus we are led to conclude that the type of flounced dress which covered the chest and arms first appeared in the time of the Dynasty of Agade, but was not common in the early period. The dress of the goddess on the rock carving of Anubanini certainly covers her right shoulder, but her left is bare, and the barbarian artist may have misunderstood his model and reversed the usual arrangement. There seems to be no absolutely authentic example from Gudea's age. The fragment of the head and shoulders of a goddess from one of his *stelai* indicates that she wore a mantle.<sup>1</sup> The robe of the goddess seated on the knees of Ningirsu is somewhat indistinct<sup>2</sup>; the fragment was found in the palace, lying on the paving, but it is not definitely certain that it belonged to the time of Gudea. The same may be said of the beautiful fragment of a goddess holding a flowing vase<sup>3</sup>; she does indeed wear a dress with a round border at the neck, and over it a great ceremonial mantle with richly embroidered borders, but there is nothing to prove that the *stèle* of which it is thought to have made part really belonged to Gudea.<sup>4</sup>

To the time of Shulgi one may attribute the relief of Ninsun, and probably the statuette in Berlin and the one from Lagash (*Cat. No. 92*). The best worked of the other statuettes, C.B.S. 16229, is definitely dated in the Isin-Larsa period, and the statuette of Bau may be credited to that age with comparative certainty. The majority of the cylinder seals and the clay relief also belong to that period or somewhat later, and to it we may assign the remainder of the statuettes, and especially the two works which were the starting point of our discussion. Even the statuette from Lagash, I.O.M. 2324, does not gainsay this proposed dating, for tablets of the time of Hammurabi and Samsuiluna and the steatite dog of Sumu-ilum were found there, and prove that documents and works of art of the later period were not unknown, even if the prestige of the city diminished after the great days of Gudea.

An enquiry as to the deity to whom this particular dress was appropriate reveals the fact that it was worn only by goddesses of high rank, who are sometimes depicted in an attitude of supplication, or with a

1. Cros, *Nouvelles fouilles de Tello*, Pl. ix, fig. 7.

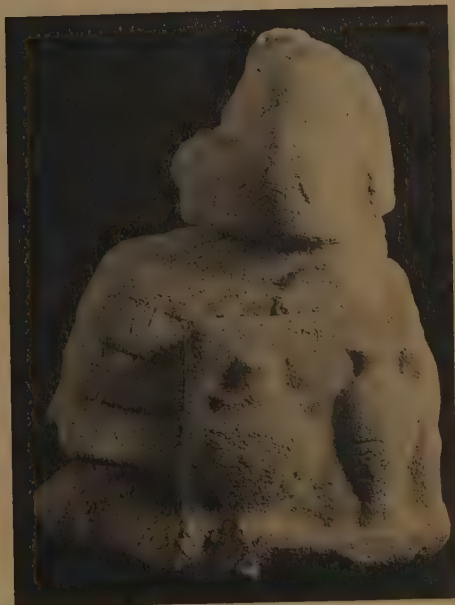
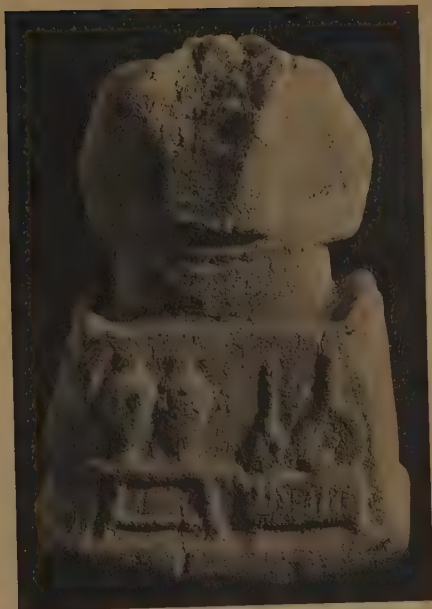
2. Heuzey, *Déc.*, pp. 214-15, Pl. 25, fig. 5; *Cat. des antiq. chald.*, pp. 141-43, No. 25.

3. I.O.M. 1533; Heuzey, *Déc.*, pp. 212-14, Pl. 8 bis, fig. 4; *Reallex. der Vorgeschichte*, IV, 2, 'Götterbild,' p. 418 (E. Unger); Speleers, *Les Arts de l'Asie antérieure ancienne*, Pl. xi, fig. 228.

4. Cf. too the fragmentary statuette from Umma, now in the Louvre; G. Contenau, *Antiq. or.*, p. 12, Pl. 10.



companion, but more often enthroned. It is not always the same goddess who is represented, for two, Ninsun and Ningal, are identified by the inscriptions, and the identity of two others, Bau and Pa-Sag, is practically certain. We cannot be sure who the patroness of herds and milking may have been, but the frieze decorating her temple at al-'Ubaid is strong evidence for thinking that she may have been Ninkhursag.



STONE STATUETTE IN THE YALE COLLECTION.

Height 15 cm.







STONE STATUETTE FROM NIPPUR IN THE PENNSYLVANIA MUSEUM, PHILADELPHIA.





1



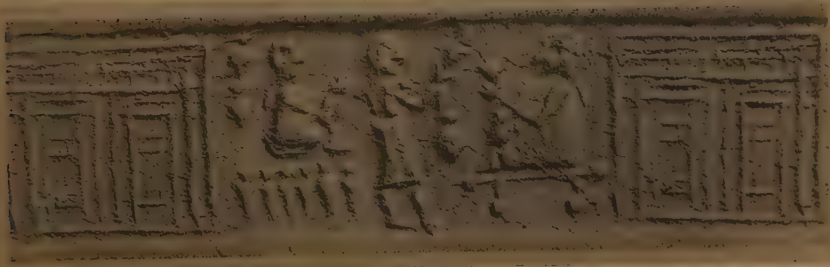
2



3



4



5

SCENES FROM CYLINDER SEALS ILLUSTRATING POTS CONTAINING MILK.





# THE SITE OF THE PALACE OF ASHURNASIRPAL AT NINEVEH, EXCAVATED IN 1929-30 ON BEHALF OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM

By R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON, M.A., D.LITT., F.S.A., AND  
R. W. HUTCHINSON, M.A., F.S.A.

WITH PLATES XVII-XL

IN 1929 we again took up the work at Nineveh where we had left off at the S.E. side of the Temple of Nabu in 1928, at the first chamber of what we presumed was the site of the Palace of Ashurnasirpal.<sup>1</sup> The funds for the first part of the season were provided by the interest on Miss Gertrude Bell's Bequest, and by donations from the Percy Sladen Memorial Fund, the Society of Antiquaries, Mr. Oscar Raphael, and Miss Hull, and for the second part by Sir Charles Hyde, Bart., who has so generously associated himself with the Nineveh excavations that we were able to see our way clear to two subsequent seasons. A short account of the finds has already appeared in the *Birmingham Post* for April 17, 1930.

1. Mr. Hutchinson shared the work on the mound, and to him has fallen particularly the section on the pottery, for which he is responsible. My wife managed the household, and Miss Isabel Shaw, who was with us for the whole season, made numerous drawings of the objects found. Apart from the general oversight, my own responsibility herein is the planning and description of the buildings, the cuneiform inscriptions, and some of the tracings or drawings. Dr. L. H. Dudley Buxton has kindly written a short monograph on three skulls. A (B) after an object indicates that it was allotted to the Baghdad Museum in the final division: if nothing is added, the object was allotted to the British Museum. In 1927-28 we took the top of Sargon's well in the Temple of Nabu as our datum-level. From 1929 onwards we have taken the surface-level (11' 6" above this point) at the west corner of the Section 'A' as our datum. The superficies from 1929 onwards is divided into squares of 50', indicated by capital letters. The provenance of objects found is indicated first by the section, and then by the depth below the datum-level (or if above, by a plus sign), *i.e.* H. 27 means twenty-seven feet below the datum-level in Sect. H. Occasionally it has been thought advisable to add the distance from the edge of the section, *e.g.* S.E. 16', S.W. 15', meaning that the object was found at 16 feet from the S.E. edge of the cutting, and 15 from the S.W. A cut was made down the N.E. side of the mound to search for prehistoric levels, and objects from this are marked  $\psi$ , with depths in feet below the local top (surface) of the mound. It was found that the lower part of the mound here was buttressed on unburnt brick.

Abbreviations: Abp.=Ashurbanipal; Anp.=Ashurnasirpal; Arch.=Archæologia, LXXIX, 1929, 103-145; C.E.=our *Century of Exploration at Nineveh*.

As will be remembered, at the end of the 1927 season we had found the walls of Chamber 'A' (on Pl. XXXIX), at about 24 feet below the surface-level, 19 or 20 feet below our present datum-level, and 8 feet below the level of Sargon's well-top in the Temple of Nabu, and these contained bricks inscribed with the palace inscriptions of Ashurnasirpal and his son Shalmaneser, apparently in place.<sup>1</sup> It was the natural presumption that we had here found the actual palace of these kings, since, besides this evidence, the level was considerably below that of the adjacent Temple of Nabu. Yet we were wrong to this extent that, although there is every reason to believe that the site was the actual 9th-century site, and that the plan, as we ultimately recovered it, may have approximated to that of the palace, the later restorations of the walls were made certainly long after the 9th century.

The difference in levels is easily explained. The palace-site was contiguous to the site of the Temple of Nabu, but whatever may have been the earliest level of the site of the temple, its restoration, either by Adad-nirari III in 788 B.C., or by Sargon at the end of that century, had raised the level of the floor some ten feet higher by the construction of a great foundation of unburnt brick which now marks it. Consequently the old site of the Palace of Ashurnasirpal was thus left some ten feet below the temple level which must now have abutted on the palace with a steep face, just as in the mound of Nebi Yunus to this day Sherif Dubbagh's house is built adjacent to the side of the mound, and in consequence his garden is at prehistoric level while his upper floors adjoin the mound at a level of many centuries later.

We may now sum up the discoveries in the superficies A-H, an area of some 200' × 100', dug to varying depths of 20'-25', with a trial pit to 42'.

Of the earliest period we found numerous flint and obsidian flakes, scattered at any level, two stone celts, and one arrowhead (see Pl. XXI): and at H. 37, in our trial pit, was the rough stone base of a wall, made of pieces of limestone, near which was a small piece of bronze or copper and an ornamental bone whorl (Pl. XXI, 28). (For the pottery, see p. 103.)

During part of the Third Millennium B.C. the Temple of Ishtar (of which the foundation was discovered at the end of the 1929 season, and partly cleared by Mr. Hamilton and myself in the following) dominated the slope which ran down towards the spot where the Temple of Nabu

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1. The position of Chamber 'A' can be seen in the map in *Arch.*, Pl. lxiii.

was subsequently to be situated, some fifty yards to the N.W. In this slope certain early inhabitants had buried many crude bowls at one time or another, as a rule turning them upside down, from which we must assume that there had been food or water in them, and that they had been intended as offerings, perhaps to the dead, although, as far as we could discover, there was nothing but animal bones in the neighbourhood. These are apparently of the same type as those found by Woolley at Ur (see *Antiquaries' Journal*, 1930, 332). In the neighbourhood, in the next season, similar bowls were found buried underneath some magnificent tombs of unburnt brick, so that the whole complex, slope, tombs and bowls, can be assigned to the same date.<sup>1</sup>

In dating these bowls, however, two points have to be borne in mind : the first, that they are so crude that they may easily have been made at any period by unskilled hands ; and the second, that, although the vaulted tombs give the impression of great importance, we cannot say the same of these miserable bowls, which were found by Mr. Hamilton and myself plentifully under and near the frontage, and even well within the tombs themselves, at floor level. The inference from the first point is clear, the second not so easy<sup>2</sup> : it will be very disappointing, during this next season when we come to complete the clearance of the tombs, if these crude bowls represent all that is to be found.

Most important for their dating was the discovery of numerous bowls of the same class in 1930-31 in the flooring of a building some 80'×24', built of unburnt brick with walls still standing about 10' high, abutting on the Temple of Ishtar, but at a lower level. Now in the *Birmingham Post* of June 26, 1931, I described a stone cylinder of Shamshi-Adad I, which Mr. Hamilton and I found in 1930-31, which related that Manishtushu, King of Agade, about 2500 B.C., had been the founder of a building belonging to the Temple of Ishtar. If, therefore, our building should be actually that which was founded by this king, we have a reasonable base from which to date these bowls.

This dating is borne out by a seal cylinder found in the same season near this building, and at about floor-level. Similarly, among the crude

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1. These tombs, which were discovered when Mr. Hamilton was with me as my assistant, lie to the S.W. of Section A, outside our present area, standing at least 15' high from foundation to top, and covering a broad area. They are vaulted, and made of large unburnt bricks.

2. For a specimen, see Pl. xxxv, 16. These crude bowls were found, as this specimen shows, even on the N.E. edge of the mound at 22' from surface.

bowls in the slope above mentioned was a seal impression, which would again coincide with this date (Pl. XXII, 10).

Again, in the central area of the sections A-G presumably lower down the ancient slope, at a depth of about 26' to 33', we found an enormous quantity of beads (perhaps 10,000), of which Mr. Beck thinks the general date can hardly be said to be before 2900 B.C.<sup>1</sup> The most striking, from our point of view, was one of a little figure of a Sumerian in lapis (Pl. XXV, 12) which must date to about the middle of the Third Millennium.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, it is not impossible that these beads were looted from the vaulted tombs, and if so, the date of the little figure will coincide with that of the bowls. Provisionally, therefore, we may put the date of the bowls at about the date of Manishtushu, 2500 B.C.<sup>3</sup>

The next period of productivity would appear to be that of the painted pottery, which is described by Mr. Hutchinson on p. 106. Quantities of this were discovered in the next season, and this is being classified by Mr. Hamilton.

We have now to consider a period of inactivity when the mound was unoccupied. There has always been every reason to suppose that there was little occupation during the Kassite period, *i.e.* about 1800-1300 B.C., and it must be admitted that few, if any, remains on Kouyunjik can show serious habitation in the period after Shamshi-Adad I, whose temple to Ishtar fell in ruins. Even the troops of the energetic Ashur-uballit (*c.* 1386), in their attack against the Kassites, raise the battle-cry 'Ishtar—how long will they cast down the lady in confusion?' (*Arch.*, 132, l. 36). From the time of this king onwards we find the mound reoccupied, but the finds of this season of the period 13th-10th century are rare.<sup>4</sup>

By the 9th century, however (possibly springing up on the ruins of an older palace),<sup>5</sup> was built the Palace of Ashurnasirpal with which we are concerned. It was only a small palace, built of burnt brick (an expensive material in a land where wood is scarce and chopped straw is the usual fuel for furnaces), but decorated with beautiful paintings, rosettes, patterns, figures, and scenes of the king himself, often in relief (Pls. XXVI,

1. Mr. Beck will describe these elsewhere.

2. This was published in the *Birmingham Post*, April 17, 1930.

3. The two-headed animal beads which were found amongst these beads are exactly similar to some found by Woolley at Ur, and may well be of the same date (Pl. xxv, 13 ff.).

4. Cf. the bricks of Shalmaneser I (Nos. 24 and 32), and see note 5.

5. Cf. the bricks of Tiglath-Pileser (Nos. 25, 27, 28), and of Tukulti-Ninurta (No. 52), as well as the large stone inscription attributable to this king, discovered in the palace (*Arch.*, Pl. xli, no. 1).



XXIX, and *Arch.*, Pl. lvii). Moreover, there were special bricks with more delicate pictures, the king in a castellated crown, himself in his chariot, tribute bearers, horses being driven as tribute from the mountains, and a besieged fortress (Pls. XXVIII-XXXII). The colours most commonly used were white, yellow, green, black, more rarely brown, and very rarely red. Throughout the building were inserted bricks bearing the titles of Ashurnasirpal, and it may also have been paved with burnt brick, as was part of the temple of Ishtar, but this is not altogether certain. His son Shalmaneser restored the palace, and subsequently we find Shamshi-Adad V, presumably occupying the same site, and beginning to rebuild it, but leaving it to be completed by his son, Adad-nirari.<sup>1</sup> After him (782 B.C.) we have no record of the rebuilders.

To this period must be ascribed the following finds:—the portion of obelisk, with the representation of the king (Ashurnasirpal or Shalmaneser) receiving the tribute of Hindana, and some other country (Pl. XXVI), and the piece of basalt obelisk (*ib.*, 3) : perhaps the ostraka and modelling (Pl. XXII, 1-3), the Assyrian altar on Pl. XXVII (three others, plain, were also found, two of which are in Baghdad), the bronze bells (Pl. XXIII, 5-7), the alabaster vessels, etc. (Pl. XXI, 1-5, 7).

A good collection of fragments of tablets and *zigâti* was found, and these will be published later.

I append a detailed account of the condition of the brick walls as we found them on the site of the old palace.<sup>2</sup> The bricks of the restorations were as a rule broken, and obviously taken from the older buildings : no mortar was used, mud only being between them (see *C.E.*, Pl. 5).

#### Chamber 'A'

*S.E. Wall* (see Ch. I, N.W.). Layer of five fairly large stones under its bricks.

*N.E. Wall.* H. 1' 8", c. 5, b. 21' 6".

Latest bk. Shamshi-Adad V. This wall runs under S.E. with 4" earth between ; cut by N.W. at least in one course, thus having been presumably cleared out of the way, and so earlier. It does not belong to period of N.W. or S.E.

1. Inscr. No. 39.

2. Abbreviations: h.=height of wall; c.=number of courses; b.=level of base below datum-level; bk.=brick; Ch.=Chamber. It should be added that inscribed Ashurnasirpal bricks are fairly common in the walls.

In the debris of the chamber at C. 24 was the base of an alabaster vase (Pl. XXI, 3).

### Chamber I

*S.E. Wall.* (a) H. 2', c. 6, b. 17' 6", built above two feet of ordinary earth, and below this a definite line of hard red earth on 19' 6". (b) H. 2' 6", c. 7, b. 15' 6", upper restoration, worse built, at W. end.

At some point in this wall was found a Tiglath-Pileser tablet.

*N.E. Wall.* H. 3' at N. corner, c. 7, b. 18'. Irregular lower course (bks., limestone). S.E. locks at E. corner only in top course, not below; the angle also shows that the two walls are of different date. Base 1' 3" above pavement level near N. corner of N.W. In 4th c. up, two Anp. bks. Under this wall was the painted bk. (Pl. XXXI, 1).

*N.W. Wall.* H. 4' 6" at N. corner: c. 10, b. 19' 6", two courses lower than N.E. Rubble inside wall. Latest (bk.) Sargon, Nabu-Temple, 2nd course up; Abp. slab (Nabu-Temple, *Arch.*, Pl. XLIII, 44), 2nd course up; one Abp. (?) cuneiform tablet under 2nd course. The wall must therefore have been restored at some date later than 640-630 B.C.

Earlier, in N. corner, were remains of bk. pavement and one rough flat stone, top level being 19' 6", not used by restorers of N.E. or S.E. walls. On this pavement was one (guilloche) painted bk., doubtless Anp., facing S.E., projecting its own width (8") from the wall, as though it were the last remnant of original decoration *in situ*. Under the wall was hard earth (3' thick), not unburnt bks. 3' 6" under base was a level of pebbles.

In the floor of the chamber (C. 22) was a broken alabaster vase (Pl. XXI, 2).

### Chamber II

Section of floor dug showed 2' solid hard clay, b. 23'-24'.

*N.W. Wall.* H. 5', c. about 13' (with an additional two rough courses underneath at N.E. end), b. 19' 6". Three, perhaps four periods; latest, upper restoration with blocked doorway (thus marking two periods), b. 17', h. 2' 6", level with top of doorway in Ch. III, N.W. In 9th course from bottom (believed to be within this restoration) an Abp. Nabu slab. Earlier portion, lower part of wall, h. 2' 6", b. 19' 6", level with first restoration of N.E. Earliest (?), two rough courses of bks. at N.E. end, b. 20". No line of stone blocks visible, as in III, S.E., except one at W. end, just under wall.

*N.E. Wall.* H. 7, c. about 21, based on large uninscribed stone blocks,

b. 21' 6". Latest period, restored about the same time as N.W. was founded. Earlier (c. 7) is based on the large stone blocks, of which one had been previously used as a door socket, found upside down. Latest dating in wall (actual courses unfortunately overlooked), Sennacherib palace-bk.: earliest, Shalmaneser I (Ishtar-Temple). No proper lock in W. corner, and N. corner destroyed. In debris of chamber one piece of *zigâti* (at -18'), and piece of tablet (-16').

### Chamber III

*N.W. Wall.* H. 6', c. about 17, b. 19' 6", not including one lump of limestone 6" higher than corresponding row which lies beneath S.E. B. same level as S.E., but N.W. cuts S.W. (which must therefore be earlier). Latest, upper restoration level with door of II N.W., h. 3' 6", c. 10, b. about 16' (with Anp. bks.). Earlier, h. 2' 6", c. 7, b. 19' 6", marked by blocked doorway, the lowest level affording one bk. as indicating possible flooring, painted with chevrons (Abp., but possibly not *in situ*). Latest dating, Anp. bk. From this wall came the painted bk., Pl. XXIX, 5.

*N.E. Wall.* H. about 5', c. about 13, b. 19' 6" (not including a base of five large rough limestone lumps underneath, b. 21' 6"). Right half entirely broken away. Latest, whole wall (?), the latest dating being a Sargon bk. (Nabu-Temple). In N. corner a large squared block of limestone, based on a level with base of wall (size  $1' 6\frac{1}{2}" \times 1' 2"$ , height  $1' 5\frac{1}{2}"$ ) with deep round hole in top. This is 2" above an earlier period, which is marked by remains of a pavement (?) of from two to four courses of Anp. bks. ( $1' 6\frac{1}{2}" \times 1' 6\frac{1}{2}" \times 2\frac{3}{4}"$ ), very probably *in situ*, b. 21'. In the debris a few pieces of *zigâti* or tablets (-14' to -16').

### 'Chamber' IV

Probably not a chamber at all, as there are no cross-walls, and the general appearance suggests that it marked a passage-way on a narrow roadway leading down from the direction of the Temple of Ishtar (a suggestion borne out by the drain hereafter described). But in this 'chamber' is a series of seven or eight layers of superimposed bks. (possibly the remains of pavements) difficult to disentangle. The surface of the topmost is 20' 6", 1' 6" below level of ash-line in Ch. V, N.E. The seventh layer down is about level with the layer of stones under Ch. II, N.E. (*i.e.* 22'). Underneath all the layers was a stone block, b. 23' 6". The uppermost layer contains bks. of Anp. and Shalmaneser I

(Temple of Ishtar), the seventh down a bk. of Tukulti-Ninurta (s. of Adad-nirari) and fragments of Anp. bks. Below this seventh was a doubtful fragment of Anp. bk., and probably another in the eighth. We may, therefore, perhaps have part of an original structure here of the 9th century.

In this area must be noted the end of the long steep drain which comes rapidly down from the direction of the Temple of Ishtar. Of this the lowest part was in 'Ch.' IV, and here, beneath the same level as the floor of Ch. II, and about 1' 6" to N.E. of it, was a wall 5' high, based on 29' 6". The upper bricks measured 1' 5½" × 1' 5½" (?) × 3", 1' 4¼" × 1' 5" × 2¾", and 1' 4¾" × 1' 4¾" × 2¾", the last two each having two finger-marks impressed on the flat surface. Beneath this wall was the drain, built of walls of three courses of rough limestone on a rough flooring of stone (b. 33') and covered by large stones (which acted as the base of the 5' wall above). Near this were found bricks of Tiglath-Pileser I (Ins. No. 34), Shamshi-Adad V (No. 39), and Anp. (*bû nathî*, as in *Arch.*, No. 58), and the beautiful little stone bowl (Pl. XXII, 9).

The higher parts were discovered in 1930-31, when Mr. Hamilton was with me, and may here be included for the sake of completion. Two sections of it were dug, the top part (in Sect. F), and a middle section below, half-way down. The top was 8' below datum (thus giving a fall of about 3 in 7), and was covered with large blocks of stones, and constructed of bricks and stones (bk. 1' 1" × 1' 1" × 3", and another 1' 3" × 1' 3" × 3"), and one in the lowest course but one was set in bitumen, mud having been used between the others. There were no inscribed bricks in place, but there was an Anp. brick (broken) near. The sides of the drain were all built up (1' to 1' 6" wide, 3' high).

The middle section consisted of an arch of bricks 3' 6" high (bks. 1' 3", 1' 4½", and 1' 5" long, presumably square, and 2½" thick, and broken bks. of Anp. and Shalmaneser I), built on a 7-9-course walling of stones (7' 6" high), containing two bks. of Tukulti-Ninurta (c. 1200 B.C.). Below this were 8 courses of bks. (11½" × 2½", probably Tiglath-Pileser I, sloping at an angle of 30° downhill) 2' thick. The floor was of great stones, the level of the top of them corresponding with the 2nd bk. course (from the bottom), very solidly set, and containing a piece of tablet (probably Tiglath-Pileser I). Near this drain, in a pit to the E., were occasional upturned bowls of the well-known type at -16' on the N.W. side, and at -12' on the S.E.



Everything seems to show that this drain was made c. 1100 B.C., having been laid on the old levels in which the former inhabitants had buried their upturned bowls. It was restored perhaps by Ashurnasirpal.

*N.E. Wall.* H. (N.W. end) 5' 9", (S.E. end) 8', with gap of 3' 3" between level of foundation and top of 'pavements' mentioned above: c. 9 on N.W., 15 on S.E., b. 17' 3" (4' 3" above pavement-top in Ch. III, N. corner): 1' above the top of the above-mentioned pavements (in 'Ch.' IV), i.e. 19' 6", is a mark of ash-line; a dump of carbonised wood 2' in diameter and 7" thick (top level with bottom of pavement) lay to S.E. of the 'pavements,' and a large dump of rubble, etc., on S.E. A piece of cuneiform tablet came from this wall, and a piece of glass. In the debris of the chamber were several tablet-fragments and *zigāti*, varying -10' to -20', and the painted brick (Pl. XXX, 2) at -18'.

### Chamber V

*N.W. Wall.* c. 6, b. 16', with an irregular line of destruction about -20' 6", corresponding with ash-line in Ch. IV, N.E. Beneath it, b. 22', is a line of stone blocks (i.e. with a gap of 5' below base of wall).

*N.E. Wall.* Latest period, c. 1 (top -12'), with 9" interval between it and the top of earlier, h. 4' 6", c. 13, b. 19', built above ash-line level.

*S.E. Wall.* Total, c. 19, at S. end, but 15 at E. In a long wall such as this is there must necessarily be some confusion in strata, especially when it is compared with its other side (Ch. VI, N.W.). It would appear that in some part there are four levels: (1), latest, as in N.E., marked by one course of bricks with earth below; (2) and (3), earlier, are shown in the S.W. doorway,<sup>1</sup> where there are two levels; (2), c. 11, b. 14' 6" (5' above foundation-stone blocks); (3), c. 6, b. 16' (3' 6" above foundation-stone blocks). The N.E. doorway opens directly along the outer S.E. wall of Ch. VI, and if it is to be regarded as of the same period as (3), it was three or four courses higher. (4) Beneath, there was the level of the (probably) Assyrian blocks on -20'.

Cf., with this side of the wall, Ch. VI, N.W. (the other side). In this wall it is most important to notice that actually in it, at a point 10 c. up from below, were three Roman coins of the 6th century A.D., and that in the door an iron key was used. In the debris of the chamber were numerous fragments of *zigāti* and 7th-century tablets at a depth of -16'

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1. Close to the S.W. doorway at D, 14, was an iron key (Pl. xxiii, 1).

to  $-20'$ , and the painted bricks on Pl. XXX, 4, 6, and Pl. XXXII, 2, at  $-17'$  to  $-20'$ .

#### Chamber VI

*N.W. Wall* (cf. above, Ch. V, S.E.). Later, c. 8, b.  $16'$ , built above an earlier with earth interval, c. 3, b.  $19'$ , the whole being  $5'$  high. Beneath the wall, a Parthian sherd. Note also Parthian sherds in Ch. VII, N.W.

*N.E. Wall*. Latest, top  $-12' 9''$ , c. 3, then earth; next, c. 2, then earth; next, c. 1, b.  $19'$ , then earth; earliest, b.  $20'$  (top level with ash-line level). In this latter, and under it, Mr. Hutchinson told me there was no pottery later than late Assyrian.

*S.W. Wall*. H.  $3'$ , c. 8, earliest, b.  $20'$ . In the debris of the chamber was a piece of syllabary at  $-14'$ .

#### Chamber VII

From within this chamber at D. 13 came a coin of an Abbasid Caliph (10th century A.D.).

*N.W. Wall*, containing unmistakable Parthian sherds. (Note Ch. V, S.E., and Ch. VI, N.W.)

*N.E. Wall*. Very rough. A succession of 4 layers of bricks, each with earth between,  $3'$  in all, b.  $16'$ , on  $2'$  of rubbish.

*S.W. Wall*. H.  $4'$ , c. 8, b.  $17'$ . Locks well with Ch. V, S.E.

#### Chamber VIII

A building between Sects. C and F, cleared in 1930-31, when Mr. Hamilton was with me. The ancient slope of the hill upwards to S.E. may account for its higher level. Three levels, bk. and stone, b.  $-11'$ ,  $-13'$  ( $14'$ ), and  $-15' 6''$ . From the uppermost came pieces of stone Abp. inscriptions, and a piece of Abp. prism.

#### Chamber IX

H.  $7'$ , c. 12 to 13, b.  $21' 6''$  (top  $-14' 3''$ ), in three (perhaps four) periods: latest, c. 5; earlier, c. 4, containing a piece of Abp. Ninil slab; earlier, c. 4, containing painted bk. Perhaps an earlier still, c. 1. Underneath all was a fall of stones and bricks, disturbing an old belt of ash some  $5'$  below, and near this fall were two pieces of Abp. cylinder. An angle wall, h.  $4' 3''$ , c. 6, b.  $18' 6''$ , at W. end of N.W., chiefly of stones, contained Anp. coloured bricks and one brick of Sennacherib.

*S.W. Wall.* Mr. Hutchinson told me that he saw no Parthian sherds in this. It contained a 9th-century Ishtar-Temple clay hand.

*S.E. Wall.* Two periods, the earlier b. 21'. In this lower one no Parthian sherds or coins.

### Chamber X

Two periods, the later wall b. 14' 6", the earlier a few feet lower (top —14' 6").

In addition to the above, note a similar complex of buildings found when Mr. Hamilton was with me in 1930-31, in the area lying S.E. of Sects. E-F, built of similar broken bricks, and to all appearance of the same period of restoration, almost on the same level as the stone-based (Parthian) buildings close by.

To sum up : there must have been many restorations on this palace-site after the 9th century B.C. We may, however, accept that the drain down from the direction of the Temple of Ishtar is an early production, laid down perhaps as early as Shalmaneser I, c. 1280, or, if not, at least as early as Tiglath-Pileser I. It was made after the period when burnt bricks had come in, superseding the unburnt, which had been the common material for walls in the Third Millennium, and it may have been restored by the later kings. If one follows its course upwards to the S.E., from the passage between the two brick buildings ('Ch.' IV), from its base on —32' to its top on —8', one may still see how the later Parthian street above it (which we finished in 1930-31) continued, in prolongation, the general line. It may well have been that the line of the drain marks an old roadway above it, between the two temples, ready to drain off the surplus water from the road, just as do the present steep cobble-paved streets of Nebi Yunus, with their open gutters in the middle.

After the drain comes the Palace of Ashurnasirpal, of which Chs. 'A'-VII occupied at least some part of the site, even if others of the chambers did not ; and it may well be that the ground-plan of a still earlier palace is marked by that lowest line of foundation, the limestone lumps or blocks. Restorations on this palace were carried on down to c. 782 B.C., by which time serious building had been begun on the adjacent Temple of Nabu. Whether it was now, or fifty years later, that the Temple foundation was raised is uncertain ; but by the 8th century the Ashurnasirpal Palace had become enclosed on three sides, the vaulted tombs (probably by now covered with earth) masking it on the S.W. The building by now can

hardly have been desirable, situated as it was in a hollow which must have collected the winter rains in stagnant or muddy pools.

To be definite about succeeding restorations is difficult. The site may have been rebuilt between 782 and 612 B.C., but there is nothing to show this for certain, although the degenerate character of even the lower parts of the building is indicative of what we know of the successors of Ashurbanipal. However this may be, there would at all events seem to be no doubt that the site (like the rest of Kouyunjik, so far as we know) had ceased to be occupied for some time after the various cuneiform libraries had been scattered. In Chambers II, III, 'IV,' V, and VI it will be seen that broken tablets are fairly plentiful at a level some feet above the lowest brick courses. This surely must indicate no occupation for a long time after the Destruction, for the tablets are a miscellaneous collection and their presence can only be explained in the half-dozen different chambers as accidental intrusions. The earth containing them on the floor of the old rooms must represent the accumulation of many years of debris; such a comparatively small and heterogeneous lot of unjoinable fragments in, and outside, several chambers cannot represent a local collection of books, broken by the fall of a roof, but rather the remnant of larger collections scattered at the Destruction, which must have lain for a long time on the unoccupied site. If they had been of value or interest (be it to Assyrian or Parthian occupant) we should have found them better preserved or, at least, homogeneous; if they were of no value in the eyes of the householder, he would have made short work of them. This explanation coincides with what is known of Nineveh: that for some hundreds of years after 612 B.C. the site was unoccupied, during which time the earth accumulated until the arrival of the Parthians, who were, I suggest, the next rebuilders.

We can now consider the evidence for the post-Assyrian rebuilding of Chambers 'A'-VII. Presumably the Parthian newcomers would have found tumbledown heaps of valuable burnt bricks lying on the old bases of the walls which still marked the ancient ground-plan, with their floors now silted up some two or three feet with earth concealing remnants of the Assyrian predecessors.

First, it would appear that the difference in levels in this part of the mound was much the same in Parthian as in Assyrian times. If a diagonal line be drawn from the N. to the S. corners in Pl. XXXIX, it will be observed that the valley slopes are higher on the E. than on the W.,



if we accept the position of the crude early bowls as marking the ancient contours. Particularly noticeable is it that the buildings of the post-Assyrian period on the E. side are built on stone bases, whereas we find but few corresponding stone bases for buildings of the same period above the brick buildings on the palace site. Yet we cannot lay down a hard and fast decision that the stone bases mark a different period from the walls built of broken Assyrian brick, for in 1930-31 a little further to the S.E. in Sect. Q we found buildings of both classes almost on a level, and almost side by side. The explanation of this may well be that when the newcomers rebuilt the place, they first used up the old burnt bricks which were immediately to hand, and then were compelled to take to stone for the remainder, as they pushed out further away from the brick ruins.

The first definite stand-by by which we can be fairly certain that the stone wall-bases in Sects. D and E (of  $-10'$  and  $-7' 6''$ ) are Parthian (apart from the enormous jars found within them) is two hoards of coins, one from D, 8, of Mithradates II, 124-88 B.C., and the other from D, 6, of Roman silver coins dating down to 215 A.D. The former was found well away towards the N.E. edge of the excavations, near the wall marked  $-10'$ ; the latter was nearly above the S.E. wall of Ch. V, A, and may have been buried either in the earth long after Ch. V, A, had ceased to be occupied (in which case, of course, none of this complex of brick buildings in D will be Parthian) or in the upper part of the wall of Ch. V, A (or in the neighbouring higher earth, to which the wall may have formed a revetment), whence it had fallen when the building decayed.

The other (sporadic) finds of coins show that round about Sect. D, about the same level as the walls, the occupants used Roman coins down to the 3rd century A.D. But in marking a possible difference of period in these brick chambers on the site of the palace, it is definite that, while nothing later than of the 7th century B.C. is found in the walls of Chambers 'A' to III (in general, rather lower than Chambers IV to VII), there were in the upper part of Ch. V, S.E., three Roman coins of the 6th century A.D., and near the S.W. doorway in this wall was found an iron key; beneath Ch. VI, N.W., was a Parthian sherd (Hutchinson); Ch. VII, N.W., unmistakable Parthian sherds (Hutchinson). That is to say, there is every reason to suppose that Chambers V-VII were restored by Parthians, and that restorations were made therein until the 6th century A.D.; but the probability is that restorations had ceased in Chambers 'A'-III long before this period. The presence of a cuneiform tablet in Ch. I, S.E., and

particularly one of the 7th (?) century in Ch. I, N.W., as well as a perfect Nabu-Temple slab of Ashurbanipal in the same wall, may indicate a very low ebb in Assyrian affairs—that is to say, the period immediately before 612 B.C. But, on the other hand, there is no certainty about this, and the restorations may be post-Destruction.

So much, therefore, for the palace-site, which may be briefly summed up as having been built certainly by the time of Ashurnasirpal, and perhaps even as far back as Tiglath-Pileser I, restored down to about 782 B.C., and thenceforward probably, but not certainly, until the Fall of Nineveh; after which, until the Parthian arrived about the 2nd century B.C., there can have been little occupation. From this time on until the 6th century A.D., Chs. V-VII appear to have been restored at various times.

Chambers VIII, IX, and X must surely represent Assyrian walls, but they give no certain indication of later restoration. What was noticeable in AB at —10' to —12' depth was the quantity of sheep bones, a most unusual find. It is possible that the explanation is to be sought in the inscription on numerous bricks of Ashurnasirpal from this neighbourhood, recording the building of the *Bît-nathî*, which, as I suggested in *Arch.*, No. 58 (see note to text No. 26 herein), might mean 'slaughter-house,' possibly for ceremonial purposes for the two adjacent temples. It is true that the proximity of the 'slaughter-house' to the palace would result in a plague of flies therein; but the bones were undoubtedly there, and have to be explained, flies or no flies. The Oriental is extraordinarily philosophical in enduring this plague.

Among the objects of the Parthian period, apart from the two hoards of coins, is the circular bronze object, Pl. XXII, 6, from D, 6.<sup>1</sup> Curiously enough, three duplicates of this have been found in Britain, so Mr. Reginald Smith has kindly informed me, published in *Archæologia*, Vol. 53, p. 268, by Mr. G. E. Fox: the first (2½" in diam., almost the same as this, with a short pin or peg at the back) from Silchester, 'an eagle grasping a thunderbolt,' and beneath, a globe, inscribed COH OPTIME [MAX]IME, like this one. The second is a perfect specimen from Bremenium, N. of the Roman Wall, and a third found at York. On the same plate, No. 4 (D, 8), is a little bowl with curious division (?) marks; on Pl. XXIII (No. 1), D, 14, is the above-mentioned iron key;

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1. This was published in *The Times*, July 2, 1930.

Pl. XXIII, 10, E, 4, an alabaster Hercules, of which god other examples have been found at Nineveh (cf. *C.E.*, pp. 139, 140). In Pl. XXVI, 2, the modelled baked-clay head is not dissimilar from the stone carvings at Hatra (Andrae, *Hatra*, Tafel IV, and Abbildungen 14, 15). On Pl. XXIV are numerous figurines of clay of the Parthian period (14-20, 22-29; 21 and 30 may be Assyrian), and one in Pl. XXIII, 11. The bronze cyathus (*ib.*, 8) is probably Parthian.

The later buildings above the Parthian levels in Sects. A-H were not of importance. Mr. Hutchinson suggests that some of the pottery, which is of the 14th century, may coincide with their period. From the few coins discovered the period might be at any time.<sup>1</sup> The one *larnax* burial in A, 12, might be Parthian, but there was nothing to determine it. The three other burials were late (see p. 101).

## THE CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTIONS

### A. Stone Inscriptions

Nos. 1-8 (Pl. XVII). The larger inscriptions found in 1929-30 are chiefly of marble, frequently inscribed on both sides, and containing, as a rule, what may be called the Ashurnasirpal Standard Inscription of Nineveh. It differs a little from that from Nimroud, but in substance it is the same.

In 1930-31 (when Mr. Hamilton was with me) we found a large slab which repeated it several times. This slab had been originally set up in the Temple of Ishtar, and we found its base actually *in situ*: the obverse was sculptured with a scene of Ashurnasirpal receiving the homage of three foreign chiefs, and the reverse contained the king's titles and an

1. I am indebted to Mr. J. Allan, Assistant in the Coin Department, British Museum, for the identification of the following coins. The oldest are those of the 'Nineveh mint' of Mithradates II above-mentioned, perhaps only a few years later than the coin of Phraates II, 138-128, found by us at Nineveh (*Arch.*, 107); *Parthian*, 2nd-1st cent. B.C. (A, 6); 1st cent. A.D. (D, 1); *Roman*, Augustus, *d.* 14 A.D. (C, 10); *denarii* of Hadrian, *d.* 138 A.D., Septimius, *d.* 211, Caracalla, *d.* 217 (D, 6); empress, 2nd cent. A.D. (C, 6); hoard of 370 silver coins down to 215 A.D. (D, 6); (*Antioch*), 1st-2nd cent. A.D. (A, 17; D, 6); Trajan, struck at Antioch, *d.* 117 A.D. (H, 13); (*Antioch*), 2nd cent. A.D. (D, 6; D, 9); (A, 5, uncertain date); (*Edessa*), Caracalla, *d.* 217 A.D. (D, 8); *Roman*, 5th cent. A.D. (Leo I ?) (H, 15); 6th cent. A.D. (3 from C, 17, Ch. V, S.E., about 10th course up); *Greek Imperial* (?), 2nd-3rd cent. A.D. (D, 4); *Byzantine*, Anastasius, *d.* 518 A.D., probably Justinian I, *d.* 585 (H, 13); 6th cent. (D, 2; D, 3); 8th cent. (H, 11); *Abbasid*, 10th cent. (D, 13, Ch. VII); 11th cent., governor of Mosul, 15x A.H. = 77x A.D. (A, 10); *Mongols of Persia*, 13th cent. (D, 6); *Persian*, local, early 19th or late 18th cent. (A, 5); *Turkish*, early 19th cent. (A, 2). From Nebi Yunus came one of Alexander Bala (*d.* 145 B.C.). The hoard of 370 coins is, I am glad to say, to be published by Dr. G. F. Hill, now Director of the British Museum.

account of his wars, and of the building of the Temple of Ishtar. As the slab gives the Nineveh version practically complete, I append this version as an excerpt after discussing the 1929 duplicates, quoting the lines from it as they occur in each.

No. 1 (text not given). B, 7, marble, inscribed both sides, 2' 0" × 1' 9½"; obv., ll. 23-26; rev., ll. 19-21.

No. 2 (text not given). C, 19 (above wall), marble, 1' 7" × 1' 4"; ll. 24-28.

No. 3 (text not given). D, 6, marble, inscribed both sides, 1' 7" × 2' 5"; obv., ll. 24-29; rev., (1) . . . *kiššāti* (?) . . . (2) [*apil Tukulti*]-*Ninurta šarru rabū šarru dan-nu* (3) [*apil Adad-ni*]rari *šarru rabū* (4) [*šarru dannu* . . . *šar mātu*] *Aš-šur-ma* (ll. 19-22).

No. 4 (text not given). H, 2 (a), marble, 1' 3½" × 1' 2", ll. 19-24.

No. 5 (text not given). H, 2 (b), marble, 11½" × 9", ll. 23-25.

No. 6 (Pl. XVII). (1) [<sup>m</sup>] *Aš-šur-našir-apli šakin* <sup>ilu</sup> *Bēl šangī Aš-šur apil Tukulti-Ninurta* (2) *šakin* <sup>ilu</sup> *Bēl šangī Aš-šur apil Adad-nirari šakin* <sup>ilu</sup> *Bēl* (3) *šangī Aš-šur-ma* (thenceforward ll. 19-22).

'Ashurnasirpal, viceroy of Bel, priest of Ashur, son of Tukulti-Ninurta, viceroy of Bel, priest of Ashur, son of Adad-nirari, viceroy of Bel, priest of Ashur.'

No. 7 (text not given), marble, 1' 3" × 1' 0", inscr. on both sides; obv., ll. 21(?) -24; rev., ll. 22-23.

No. 8 (Pl. XVII). (1) *Ekāl<sup>m</sup> Aš-šur-našir-[apli apil Tukulti-Ninurta šar kiššāti šar mātu Aš-šur]* (2) *apil Adad-nirari šar kiššāti šar mātu Aš-šur-ma* (ll. 19-27).

The Text from Slab from Temple of Ishtar.\* (19) *Ka-šid ištu e-bir-tan*<sup>1</sup> (20) *nāru Idiqlat*<sup>2</sup> *a-di*<sup>3</sup> *mātu Lab-na-ni u tāmti rabūti(ti)*<sup>4</sup> *ša mātu Har-ri*<sup>5</sup> *ša šulum(um)*<sup>6</sup> *ilu Šamši(ši)* (21) *mātu Ha-a*<sup>7</sup> *-ti*<sup>8</sup> *a-na*<sup>9</sup> *si-ḫir-ti-ša*<sup>10</sup> *ḫat-su ik-šu-du ištu riš e-ni nāru Su-ub-na-at* (22) *a-di*<sup>11</sup> *mātu U-ru-me rapaštu(ti) matāti Na-i-ri [a-na pāt gim-ri-ša a-bil mātu La-ki-e* (23) *ana*<sup>21</sup> *si-ḫir-ti-ša akšud(ud)*<sup>12</sup> *mātu Su-ḫi a-di*<sup>13</sup> *mātu Ra-pi-ki a-na*<sup>14</sup> *šepā*<sup>21</sup> *ia u-šik-ni-ši*<sup>15</sup>

\* Note.—B, DD, Y, are variant texts of this big slab. Their variants (and those of Nos. 1-8) are given in the notes which follow.

<sup>1</sup> DD, Y, *ta-an*. <sup>2</sup> 3 rev., 6, *HAL*. *HAL*. <sup>3</sup> 1 rev., 6, *adi*. <sup>4</sup> 6, *tu*. <sup>5</sup> 4, *A-ḫar*, 6, *A-ḫar-ri*. <sup>6</sup> 3 rev., 6, *šulumu(mu)*. <sup>7</sup> 1 rev., 6 *Ḫat*. <sup>8</sup> 1 rev., 6, *te*. <sup>9</sup> 3 rev., *ana*. <sup>10</sup> 6, *te-šu*. <sup>11</sup> 3 rev., *adi*. <sup>12</sup> 7 rev., *akšudu(du)*. <sup>13</sup> 7, *adi*. <sup>14</sup> 1, *ana*. <sup>15</sup> 1, 7, *niš*. <sup>16</sup> B, 8, be; 4, *rib*, omitting *ša*. <sup>16a</sup> 8, *atu*. <sup>17</sup> 1, 2, *adi*. <sup>18</sup> 2, *atu*. <sup>19</sup> 3, obv. adds *a*. <sup>20</sup> 1, 2, *adi*. <sup>21</sup> B, *a-na*. <sup>21a</sup> 8, *ta-an*. <sup>22</sup> DD omits. <sup>23</sup> 2, *ta-tul*. . . . <sup>24</sup> 3, *ša* for <sup>m</sup>. <sup>25</sup> B, *ta-a*, 3, *ta*. . . . <sup>26</sup> 3, *ta-a*. <sup>27</sup> 2, 3, *mātu*. <sup>28</sup> 3, *te-ir*. <sup>29</sup> 3 omits. <sup>30</sup> 3, *akšud(ud)*.



(24) ištu ni-ri-be<sup>16</sup> ša mātu<sup>16A</sup> Kir-ru-ri a-di<sup>17</sup> mātu<sup>18</sup> Gil-za-<sup>19</sup> ni ištu ni-ri-be  
 ša alu Ba-bi-te a-di<sup>20</sup> mātu Nam-ri (25) ana<sup>21</sup> nišē<sup>Pl</sup> māti-ia am-nu ištu  
 e-bir-tan<sup>21A</sup> nāru Za-ba šaplita(ta) adi<sup>alu</sup> Tul-ba-a<sup>22</sup>-ri ša el-la-an mātu Za-ban  
 (26) adi<sup>alu</sup> Tul<sup>23</sup> ša m Za-ab-da-ni u alu Tul<sup>m</sup> 24 Ab-da<sup>25</sup>-ni alu Hi-ri-mu  
 alu Ha-ru-tu<sup>26</sup> (27) alu bi-ra-a-te ša alu<sup>27</sup> Kar-du-ni-aš a-na mi-šir māti-ia  
 u-tir<sup>28</sup> (28) L M um-ma-ni lu ad-ki a-na mātu Me-iḫ-ri al-lik mātu Me-iḫ-ri  
 ana<sup>21</sup> si-ḫir-ti-ša (29) ḫati(tī)<sup>29</sup> ik-šu-du.<sup>30</sup>

No. 9 (Pl. XVII). H, 4, and rev.; dup. No. 10, D, 6, and rev.

(1) [m ilu Aššur-našir-apli šarru dan]-nu (2) šar kiššati šar [mātu Aššur]  
 (3) mur-te-du-u (4) ka-liš mātāti (5) apil Tukulti-Ninurta šarru dan-nu  
 (6) šar kiššati šar mātu Aššur (7) apil Adad-nirari šarru dan-nu (8) šar  
 kiššati šar mātu Aššur-ma (9) [bi ilu Ištār]<sup>1</sup> (10) bēlti-ia (11) ištu išdi-šu  
 (12) a-di (13) gab-dip-pi-šu (14) ar-šip (15) u-šak-lil (16) rubū(u) arkū(u)  
 (17) an-ḫu-[su li-diš].

‘[Ashurnasirpal, the powerful king], the king of multitudes [king of Assyria], dominating the lands entirely, son of Tukulti-Ninurta, the powerful king, king of multitudes, king of Assyria, son of Adad-nirari, the powerful king, king of multitudes, king of Assyria : [the Temple of Ishtar], my lady, from its foundation to its roof I built and completed. May a future prince [its] ruins [renew].’

Nos. 11-15 (Pl. XVII), various broken stone texts.

No. 16 (Pl. XVIII). Small dedicatory slab of marble, now in Baghdad. C, 14.

#### Obverse

1. [ilu] Aš-šur šadū rabū a-bu ilāni<sup>Pl</sup> mu-šim [ši-ma-a-ti] . . .
2. [ma]-li-ku ram-ni-šu ilu A-nim ilu Bēl ilu E-[a] . . .
3. u-ṣu-rat šamē(e) u iršitim(tim) mu-ad-du-u t[um ?] . . .
4. e-diš-šu-u ilu Azag ša itti-šu la il-lam-m[a-du] . . .
5. pa-ri-is pur-si-e mu-šak-[li](?) ad-di- . . .
6. daiānu rabū ilāni<sup>Pl</sup> rabūti<sup>Pl</sup> ša nam-ri-ir-ri . . .
7. mātāti<sup>Pl</sup> ma-ti-tan ilu Adad ašarid šamē(e) iršitim(tim) . . .
8. mu-šab-šu-u še'im u ḫe mu-uš-tam-zi-ḫu māti . . .
9. ilu Šamaš itāti<sup>Pl</sup>-šu ša ina ba-li-šu e- . . .
10. la in-nam-bu-u mal-ku ilu N[abū] . . .

1. Presumed from the word *bēlti-ia*, and numerous inscriptions found on the site of this temple by myself and Mr. R. W. Hamilton in 1930-31. In the obv. of No. 9, l. 9, the *ta(ultu)* is unintelligible, if I have collated these four inscriptions rightly.

11. *iršitim(tim) sa-niḫ miḫ-hur-ti* . . .
12. *ilu Ninurta apil ilu Bêl* . . .
13. *mu-šat-ti-ru mâtâti<sup>p1</sup> ra-[ap-ša-a-ti]* . . .
14. *a-na ilu-ti-ša* . . .
15. *ilâni<sup>p1</sup> šur-bu-[ti]* . . .
16. *iz-za-zu-ma* . . .
17. *ana ilu Sin* . . .

## Reverse

1. *in (?)* . . . . .
2. *man-da-ta* . . . . .
3. *e-nu-ma bît* . . .
4. *bû ilu Sin bû ilu* . . .
5. *bû ilu Ištar Ninâ ki bêlti ra-[bi-ti]* . . . [*ša m ilu Aššur-našir-apli*]  
*apil m Tukulti- ilu Ninurta šar mâtu Aš-š[ur]* . . .
7. *ša-ti-na la-ba-riš ûmê(me)* . . .
8. *aḫ-kur-ši-na-ti-ma kal* . . .
9. *šadî(i) dan-ni ar-ti-ma ul-[li?]* . . .
10. *u-šak-lil ilâni<sup>p1</sup> rabûti<sup>p1</sup>* . . . . .
11. *bêlê<sup>p1</sup>-ia ina kir-bi ki-iš-ṣ[i-šu-nu]* . . .
12. *ṭa-biṣ u-šar-ma-a pa-rak-ki-š[u-nu]* . . .
13. *li-e [m]a-ru-ti šu'-e ma-ru-ti niḫê<sup>[p1]</sup>* . . .
14. *kad-ra-a u-šam-ḫir-šu-nu-ti-ma ma-ḫar* . . .
15. *li-i-tu ki-šit-ti ḫatâ ša i-na [tu-kut-ti ilâni<sup>p1</sup>]*
16. *bêlê<sup>p1</sup>-ia eli kul-lat na-ki-ri [aš-tak-ka-nu]*
17. *i-na mu-sar-ri-e u-ša-aš-ṭir-ma a-n[a šarrâni<sup>p1</sup>]*
18. *mârê<sup>p1</sup>-ia e-zib [aḫ-ra-taš]*
19. *a-na arkat ûmê(me) rubû arku(u) e-nu-ma b[ûtâti<sup>p1</sup> ša-ti-na]*
20. *i-lab-bi-ra-ma en-na-ḫa mu-sar-a . . li-* . . .
21. . . . *-ku it-ti mu-sar-e ši-ṭir šu-me-šu li-kin* . . .

## Obverse

1. Ashur, the great mountain, father of the gods, decreeing [fates], . . . .
2. taking his own counsel : Anu, Bêl (and) Ea . . . .
3. the tabu of heaven and earth, declaring . . . .

4. alone : the god Azag,<sup>1</sup> whose mark is unknown . . .
5. making decisions (of fate), completing (?) . . . [Shamash],
6. the great judge of the great gods, whose brilliance . . .
7. all lands : Adad, the first of heaven (and) earth . . .
8. who maketh corn and vegetables to grow, adorning<sup>2</sup> the land . . .
9. the sun his signs, without whom . . . . .
10. no prince is named : N[abu] . . .
11. of the earth, who grippeth the co-ordination<sup>3</sup> . . . .
12. Ninurta, son of Bél, . . . . .
13. who enricheth the [broad] lands : [Ishtar ?] . . .
14. unto her divinity . . . .
15. the gods great[ness] . . .
16. stand . . .
17. unto Sin (?)<sup>4</sup> . . . . .

*Reverse*

2. tribute . . . . .
3. when the temple of . . . . .
4. the temple of Sin, the temple of . . .
5. the temple of Ishtar of Nineveh, my lady, [which Ashurnasirpal]
6. the son of Tukulti-Ninurta, king of Assyria [had restored ;]
7. these [temples] by reason of age [had decayed : anew (?)]
8. I pulled them down, and all . . . [with stone]
9. firm, of the mountains, I strengthened and raised (?) [them higher ?] . . .
10. I completed (them). The great gods [dwelling in them ?]
11. my lords, into [these] abodes . . .
12. happily I established ; their shrines . . .
13. fat beeves, fat sheep as sacrifices [I slaughtered] . . .
14. (as) my gifts I devoted to them and before . . .
15. The triumph of the conquests of my hands which by the [help of the  
gods],
16. my lords, over all [my] enemies [I had established],

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1. Deimel, *Panthéon*, 61.

2. *Muštamziḥ*; see Thureau Dangin, *Revue d'Assyr.*, 1914, 100.

3. *Sanik mīlḥurti*, said of Nabu, *Keils. Bibliothek*, III, i. 194, 2.

4. Possibly *in the Sin-a[ḫé pī-eriba]*, Sennacherib, but not attractive.

17. in my inscriptions I caused to be written and for [the kings],
18. my sons, I left [to posterity]
19. to later days. A later prince when [these temples]
20. shall grow old and decay, (and) my inscription
21. . . . with the inscription of his written name may he place . . . .

Nos. 17-21 (Pl. XVIII). Various fragmentary stone inscriptions.

Nos. 22-23 (Pl. XVIII). Pieces of the slab of Ashurnasirpal's Lion Hunt found in 1927 (*Arch.*, Pl. XLI, 4-10; Pl. LIX, 4). This text contains parts of the Standard Ashurnasirpal Inscription of Nineveh, and ends with the description of the restoration of the Temple of Ishtar by Ashurnasirpal, similar to that mentioned in the notes to 1-8.

### B. Brick Inscriptions

Specimens of these are in the Baghdad Museum.

#### Shalmaneser I (c. 1280)

No. 24 (Pl. XIX). Composite text: (1) *A-na ilu Ištar* (2) *bēlti-šu m ilu Šulmanu(ma-nu)*—(3) *ašarid<sup>1</sup> šang<sup>i</sup> ilu Aš-šur* (4) *i-kiš<sup>2</sup>*.<sup>2</sup> 'Unto Ishtar, his lady, Shalmaneser, the priest of Ashur, hath presented.'

No. 32 (Pl. XIX). Chamber I, N.E. wall, 3rd course up. (1) *E[kal]* (2) *m ilu Šulmānu(ma-nu-ašarid)* (3) *šar kiš-[ša-ti]* (4) *šar mātu [Aššuri]*. 'Pal[ace] of Shalman[eser], king of multitudes, king of [Assyria].'<sup>3</sup>

#### Tiglath-Pileser I (c. 1100)

No. 25 (Pl. XIX). Chamber II, N.E. wall; cf. *Arch.*, No. 55.

No. 34 (Pl. XIX) (mutilated). C, 24, drain (out of place).

Nos. 27-28 (Pl. XIX). D, 4; H, 6; *Arch.*, No. 53.

#### Tukulti-Ninurta (889-884)

No. 52 (Pl. XX). 'Chamber' IV, 7th layer of pavement. (1) *Ekal m Tukulti-Ninurta šarru . . .* (2) [*apil m Adad*]-*nirari šar mātu [Aš-šur]*. 'Palace of Tukulti-Ninurta, king . . . [son of Adad]-nirari, king of Assyria.'

1. It was Mr. Sidney Smith who pointed out to me that this name had extended into the next line.

2. This is the text of the fragments, *Arch.*, Nos. 103-112, 116.

3. Cf. King, *Annals*, Plate opposite xxxvi.



Ashur-našir-pal<sup>1</sup> (884-859)

**No. 26** (Pl. XIX). Chamber 'A,' S.E. wall, 5th course up. (1) *m Aššur-našir-apli šakni ilu Bêl šan[gî Aššur apil m Tukulti-Ninurta šakni ilu Bêl]* (2) *šangi Aššur apil Adad-nirari šak[ni ilu Bêl šangi Aššur-ma]* (3) *e-nu-ma bîl ilu Ištar [ša alu Ni-na-a bêlti-ia inâhu]* (4) *ištu išdi-šu a-di [gab-dib-bi-šu]* (5) *ar-šip [u-šak-lil]*.

'Ashur-našir-pal, prefect of Bêl, priest [of Ashur, son of Tukulti-Ninurta], prefect of Bêl, priest of Ashur, son of Adad-Nirari, prefect of Bêl, priest of Ashur]. When the Temple of Ishtar [of Nineveh, my lady, had decayed], I built [(and) completed (it)] from its foundation to [its roof].'

**Nos. 29, 33** (Pl. XIX). C, 20 (Chamber V); H, 11. Begins similarly to No. 26 (except that 33 adds *amelu* to *šakni*): then (3) *bîl ilu Ištar ša alu Ni-na-a belti-ia* (4) *ištu išdi-šu a-di gab-dib-bi-šu u-šak-lil u ak-šir*, 'the temple of Ishtar of Nineveh, my lady, from its foundation to its roof I completed and bonded.'

**No. 30** (Pl. XIX). A, 8; A, 10. (1) *m Aššur-našir-apli šar mātu [Aššur]* (2) *apil Tukulti-Ninurta šar mātu [Aššur]*. 'Assur-našir-pal, king of [Assyria], son of Tukulti-Ninurta, king of [Assyria].' (One from G,  $13\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6'' \times 4''$ .)

'Hands' (Pl. XX): **Nos. 55, 57** (D, 10; G, 21' 6"), cf. No. 26 (1-2) (note inaccuracies in 57). **No. 58**, A, 15; G, 15; H, 9; H, 15: similar, adding 'property of the Temple of Ishtar of Nineveh.'

## Shalmaneser III (859-824)

**No. 31** (Pl. XIX). C, 20, Chamber V. (1) *[Ekal<sup>m</sup>] ilu Šulmanu-ašarid* (2) *[apil<sup>m</sup>] Aš-šur-našir-MEŠ (!)* (3) *[šar mātu] Aš-šur*. '[Palace] of Shalmaneser, [son] of Ashur-našir-pal (!), [king] of Assyria.'

**Nos. 35, 41** (Pl. XIX). D, 10; H, 2 (mutilated).

1. Various bricks of Ashurnasirpal, text now known, were found:—

(a), as *Arch.*, 59; B, 15' 6", pavement, inscribed on face; C, 9, on edge (size 4"); C, 16, Ch. V, on edge (4").

(b), as *Arch.*, 56; B, 15' 6", pavement. A second, C, 20, upper pavement, on edge ( $3\frac{3}{4}''$ , 1' 2" length) omits 'temple of Ishtar in Nineveh.'

(c), as *Arch.*, 58 (all inscribed on edge); A+2 ( $4\frac{1}{4}''$ ), A, 7 ( $4\frac{1}{4}''$ ), A, 10 ( $4\frac{1}{4}''$ ), A, 15 ( $4\frac{1}{4}''$ ), A, 27 (4"), B, 12 ( $4\frac{1}{4}''$ ), B, 13 ( $4\frac{1}{8}''$  and  $4\frac{1}{4}''$ ), B, 13 (1'  $1\frac{1}{8}'' \times 6'' \times 4''$ ), C, 17 (4"), C, 19 ( $3\frac{3}{4}''$ ), D, 3 ( $4\frac{7}{8}''$ ), D, 10 ( $4\frac{1}{4}''$ ), H, 4 (4").

(d), as *Arch.*, 57; A, 8; A, 9 (nine bricks); A, 11, B, 12, B (late wall), 13; B, pavement, 15' 6" (two bricks); D, 9 ( $3\frac{3}{8}''$ ), D, 18.

(e), as *Arch.*, 61; A, 20 (on edge,  $4\frac{1}{4}''$ , length 1'  $1\frac{1}{2}''$ ), C, 20, H, 6 ( $4\frac{1}{4}''$ , side  $5\frac{3}{4}''$ ).

## Shamshi-Adad V (824-811)

**No. 44** (Pl. XX). Composite from A, 8; A, 22; B, 22; C, 18 (Chamber II); H, 8. Same text as *Arch.*, No. 114, p. 123.

## Adad-nirari III (811-782)

**No. 39** (Pl. XIX). C, 24, under floor of 'Chamber' IV, and from Chamber VII, N.W. wall. (1) *Ekal mīlu Šam-ši-Adad šarru rabū(u) šarru dan-nu šar [kiššati šar mātu Aššur]* (2) *apil mīlu Šulmanu (ma-nu)-ašarid šar kib-rat irbitti(ti) apil m Aššur-našir-apli [šar kiššati šar mātu Aššur-ma]* (3) *ina ūmē(me)-šu-ma ekallu ši-i ša mīlu Šam-ši-Adad šar mātu Aššur* (4) *epuš(uš)-ma la u-šak-li-lu u ana-ku m Adad-nirari šar mātu Aššur apli-šu u-šak-lil*. 'Palace of Shamshi-Adad, the great king, the powerful king, king [of multitudes, king of Assyria], son of Shalmaneser, the king of the four regions, son of Ashur-našir-pal [king of multitudes, king of Assyria]: in those days this palace which Shamshi-Adad, king of Assyria, built, but had not completed, I, Adad-nirari, king of Assyria, his son, completed (it).'

Text not given: (a) as *Arch.*, 68; C, 12, on edge,  $4\frac{3}{8}$ "; H, 9, on edge; (b) as *Arch.*, 66; A, 7, on edge.

## Sargon (722-705)

Text not given: (a) as *Arch.*, 72; A, 17,  $13" \times 13" \times 4\frac{1}{8}"$ .

Sennacherib<sup>1</sup> (705-681)

**Nos. 46, 49** (Pl. XX). A, 15; fields E. of Nebi Yunus. (1) *mīlu Sin-aḫē pl-eriba ([šarru] rabū šarru dannu) šar kiššati šar mātu Aš-šur* (2) *dūri ša alu Ni-nu-a (v. Ninā) eš-šiš (v. eššeš(eš)) epuš(uš)*. 'Sennacherib (the great king, the powerful king), king of multitudes, king of Assyria, the wall of Nineveh afresh I built.'

**Nos. 47, 53** (Pl. XX). A, 6; D, 8; D, 12; H, 2. This is the proper reading for *Arch.*, No. 84 ff., p. 125, in which I was in error. (1) *Ekal mīlu Sin-aḫē pl-eriba* (2) *šarru rabū šarru dan-nu šar kiššati šar mātu Aš-šur* (3) *ekallu šaninu la išu* (4) *a-na mu-šab be-lu-ti-šu* (5) *ki-rib alu Ni-na-a epuš(uš)*. 'Palace of Sennacherib, the great king, the powerful king, king of multitudes, king of Assyria: the "Palace without rival" for the dwelling of his lordship in Nineveh he built.'

1. Text not given; (a), two from ploughland E. of Nebi Yunus, edge 4", as *Arch.*, 96 (ekallu lost); (b), A, 6, on edge, 3" (12" long), similar but with mātu for ekallu; (c), as *Arch.*, 99, D, 4, on edge, 4"; (d), as *Arch.*, 93, 96, two, A, 8 (on edge, 4" and  $4\frac{1}{4}"$ ); D, 14 (edge  $4\frac{1}{4}"$ ); H, 3 (on face); H, 4 ( $13\frac{1}{2}" \times 13\frac{3}{4}" \times 4\frac{1}{4}"$ ); (e), as *Arch.*, 101, ploughland S. of Nebi Yunus, on edge,  $3\frac{1}{2}"$ , with epuš fairly clear in l. 3.

Dr. L. H. Dudley Buxton has written the following note on three late burials in Sect. A.<sup>1</sup>

The human bones sent to the Department of Human Anatomy included three adult male skulls and the fragments of the skeleton of a child. One skull was sufficiently perfect to enable me to make an almost complete reconstruction, one was very fragmentary (but I was able to build up the left side without any difficulty), while the third had a complete braincase, the face being missing. The specimens had not been warped by earth pressure, and as far as they went the pieces fitted into their places and could be glued together without any difficulty. It is very hazardous to express any definite opinion on such a small series, but the skulls were of so definite a type that the study of even so few seemed profitable. Skulls 1 and 2 (in the order mentioned above) are clearly of the same type, but the third skull differs slightly from them, partly in having rather less pronounced frontal ridges and partly in being more brachycephalic; the latter condition is, however, due not to natural causes but to a flattening of the occiput in infancy, either intentional artificial deformation, as I suspect, or possibly owing to the accidental effect of being tied firmly to a cradle board. Ignoring these slight differences, which are well within the range of normal variation, the skulls present certain marked features. They are of considerable size, mesocephalic, heavily built, with traces of considerable musculature. The most noticeable feature is, however, the great development of the brow ridges, which in the two first specimens are so large as almost to form a supra-orbital torus. The nasal aperture is of great height and of medium width, the height causing the actual index to be rather low. The cheek bones are prominent, but not flattened, the palate is of considerable size, even in the complete skull, where the wisdom teeth never erupted. The lower jaw is large and, like the rest of the skull, bears traces of large muscles.

This type of skull is totally unlike the skulls which we have from Kish. In that place we have two types, one that is of the Eurafrican

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1. The positions of Nos. 2 and 3 are marked, the first —3' below datum in Sect. A being omitted. In this latter case a two-handled pot was found with it, the skeleton, much broken, lying on its left side. In the *larnax* burial, probably Parthian, at —12' below datum, in the clay coffin, was a small bowl with a curved rim (broken), a piece of green glazed saucer, and a curved iron knife. There was much burnt ash (apparently from bones) but only some small bones, no skeleton. Size of coffin, length broken, 22" wide, 16" deep, at 311°.

type, extremely long-headed, very small, rather slender, showing affinities with the ancient and modern inhabitants of the Mediterranean seaboard, the so-called Mediterranean race, but differing in some essentials from them; this type forms the sole type in the early graves from Ur. The second type at Kish, inextricably mixed up with the first type even in the graves from below flood-level and continuing to be represented right through to modern times in about the same proportion, is round-headed and rather larger in size, and corresponds closely to the type described as 'alien' by Elliot Smith in his book *The Ancient Egyptians*; it is usually called Armenoid by most anthropologists. These two types have a wide distribution in the Near and Middle East, where they, or closely allied types, form the bulk of the population. The only early skull in Oxford from northern Mesopotamia, from the lowest stratum at Carchemish, belongs to the first type. The skulls under consideration, however, differ totally from either of these two types. Von Luschan, however, in his masterly study on *The Inhabitants of Western Asia*,<sup>1</sup> figures a modern Kurd, and also gives measurements of living Kurds. Unfortunately his measurements are not very complete, but the photograph is excellent and allows no doubt of the type. Von Luschan believes that the modern Kurds are representatives of the Nordic type. Haddon<sup>2</sup> has somewhat altered the nomenclature by suggesting the name *Proto-Nordic*, which probably fits better. There is no reason to doubt that the skulls under consideration belong to this type. Their history is somewhat obscure; they are certainly steppe dwellers, and to-day form the bulk of the population of the Turkoman steppes, probably extending along the central massif, possibly even into India. Haddon suggests that the Kurds have maintained the old proto-Nordic type in the mountains of Armenia for more than 3300 years, and that the Amorites belonged to the same stock. At present, however, we have not any definite evidence of the penetration of the type into southern Mesopotamia, and as far as I am aware the skulls under consideration represent the most southerly finds of the type in the twin river valley. There seem to be two possibilities. One is that these skulls are just strays of comparatively late date.<sup>3</sup> Mosul is, of course, very close to Kurdish territory, and one would hardly be surprised

1. Huxley Lecture, *J.R.A.I.*, 1911.

2. *The Races of Man*, pp. 96 ff.

3. Owing to the uncertainty of the archaeological evidence no definite view can be expressed on this point; the condition of the bone, however, precludes a very recent date, the gelatine having to a great extent disappeared. It is, however, impossible to say how long this takes, as it varies according to climate.



in modern times to find them represented in the population of the district. The other alternative is that the population of northern Mesopotamia did really differ from that of southern Mesopotamia. Considering how very slowly populations do change,—Kish has hardly altered one little bit from the very beginning till to-day,—one would expect to find the same type of skulls at any period; three strays of the same type seem rather too much of a coincidence, but the evidence must at present necessarily be held inconclusive. I have reason to believe that the Proto-Nordic type had formerly a wide distribution in the Near East. It certainly occurs in graves at the end of the Bronze Age in Cyprus, but apparently, though I hesitate to be quite certain, is not represented in later graves (here there is no lack of evidence, as we have a large number of skulls from Cyprus of all periods). The ethnological problem presented is therefore one of considerable interest. The peculiar development of the brow-ridges present certain interesting anatomical questions, but these would be out of place in an archaeological paper.

#### THE POTTERY \*

The earliest pottery from the 1929-1930 excavations was that found in Trench H in the strata between 32 and 42 feet below the datum mark (a few feet deeper than the actual surface of the soil at that spot). The sherds were very fragmentary, but included the out-curved rims of large *pithoi* in coarse buff ware,<sup>1</sup> coarse grey or black rims with a club-headed profile,<sup>2</sup> and a few examples of a fine hand-turned buff fabric (fragmentary), including the everted rim of a carinated vase<sup>3</sup> and a few tubular spouts.<sup>4</sup> The *pithoi* occasionally bore a line of thumb-nail impressions at the base of the neck, and there were one or two sherds with combed patterns; one fragment from H, 40, was crossed by two bands of matt, plum-coloured paint. Since this sherd was 23 feet below the bottom of our painted-

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\* This section is by R. W. Hutchinson, who is responsible for the work. Throughout this section *Archæologia* will be quoted as *Arch.*, *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse* as *Mém.*, and *Ur Excavations*: Vol. I: *Al 'Ubaid* as *T.U.*, and a *History of Art in Chaldaea and Assyria* by Perrot and Chipiez as 'Perrot Chipiez.'

1. Cf. for the profile, *T.U.*, Pl. I, type x.

2. Cf. *T.U.*, Pl. I, types b, c; see *Arch.*, LXXIX, p. 136, for a reference to similar rims that we picked up near Mound No. 3, Tell Gintara.

3. Cf. perhaps *T.U.*, type P. viii or ix.

4. Also found at Tell el 'Ubaid and Abu Shahrain.

ware stratum, it may possibly have been intrusive. At the same level were two sherds with the incised lattice pattern of the kind found at Hashamiyah.<sup>1</sup> The earliest restorable vase was a small, ovoid, hand-made pot in a rather fine, cream fabric from H. 32<sup>2</sup> (Pl. XXXVI, no. 5).

We cannot assign chronological limits to this group, but must be content with saying that it had probably died out before 3500 B.C.

The pottery found in G and H between 25' and 17' below the datum level was noticeably homogeneous; it differed in shapes, and sometimes in fabric, from the first group, but may well have been derived from it, no definite break in the strata being visible. The most characteristic feature was the large quantity of hand-made bowls with bevelled rims and slightly flaring sides in a very coarse and crumbling red, brown, or buff fabric<sup>3</sup> discovered usually upturned, sometimes on a small layer of broken pottery. Since the vases to which these latter sherds had belonged had usually been of much better and harder fabric than the bowls which, despite their fragility, were generally intact, I suggest that they may have been placed there as dedications perhaps to the patron goddess Ninâ, whose temple was later erected on this site. Together with these bowls we often found conical cups that had been turned on some primitive kind of tournette. The other sherds from the same strata included fragments of large jars with tubular spouts, of small spouted jars,<sup>4</sup> of bowls with plain or incurved rims,<sup>5</sup> and of a squat vase with short neck and four suspension lugs on the flat shoulder.<sup>6</sup> The last-named shape and

1. *Arch.*, LXXIX, p. 136.

2. Cf. *T.U.*, II, the stone vase from grave 66.

3. For the form, cf. *T.U.*, type P. xva, and *Mém.*, XIII, Pl. xxxii, no. 14 (the latter without a spout). We may note among fifty-six deposits of this kind recorded, which were for the most part at a depth H, 17' to H, 19', that frequently two, three, four, or even six were together, some upturned, some right way up; sometimes there were traces of ash under them, twice a 'natural' stone pounder, and with [No. 2], H, 17, one whole burnt brick, slightly concave on top and correspondingly convex on the other side, but by no means plano-convex,  $12\frac{5}{8}'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3\frac{1}{4}''$ , and another broken  $6\frac{3}{4}''$  long  $\times 3''$  thick. With [No. 20], H, 17, was a basalt stone for grinding corn; with [No. 48], G, 18, a bitumen whorl; with [No. 31], H, 21, a fragment of bronze or copper; near [No. 38], clay 'beads.' We often found groups of bones beneath them, and Dr. Dudley Buxton, who has examined similar bones from similar bowls found near tombs and brought back in 1931, says that he has identified only animal bones herein, so that the theory that they were votive offerings, perhaps to the dead, seems very plausible. What was interesting was that in at least two cases the bowl was close to, or even in, the base of a much later brick wall; [No. 43], G, 19, under the outer corner of the S. side of Chamber IX, where, if one follows the natural explanation, one would have said that the foot of the brick foundation had been hollowed out and earth and the bowl inserted; and [No. 42], underneath base of the S.W. wall of this Chamber.

4. Cf. *T.U.*, type lxxxviii, which, however, is later.

5. Cf. *T.U.*, Pl. I, types b and c.

6. Cf. *Mém.*, XIII, Pl. xxxii, no. 13.

the large spouted jars occasionally bear a cross-hatched band incised on the shoulder.<sup>1</sup> Ribbon handles occur but comparatively rarely. The hand-made bowl and the conical cup are identical with those from Abu Shahrain, described by Dr. Campbell Thompson as being there the typical grave bowl<sup>2</sup> and typical grave cup.<sup>3</sup> At least one bowl of this kind was found at Tell el 'Ubaid; examples also occurred in the bottom levels of Susa II, and I understand that both bowls and cups were found at Jamdat-en-Nasr, together with the painted pottery characteristic of that site. The upper levels of this stratum at Kouyunjik contained a number of complete hand-turned vases in a rather fine buff fabric, many sherds (especially of the squat shape described above) coated with red paint, usually a matt plum colour, but in rare instances a fine, lustrous red. All these types can be paralleled at Ur, where they appear to have been characteristic of the lower part of the 'wasters' stratum and of the transition from Section XI with its 'al 'Ubaid' wares to Section X with its Jamdat-en-Nasr types.<sup>4</sup> It is noticeable that at Kouyunjik (and apparently at Ur also, if I understand Mr. Woolley aright) the fabrics described above underlay the Jamdat-en-Nasr types in the form of a solid deposit which at Nineveh was 15 feet thick, whereas at Jamdat-en-Nasr the bowls and conical cups corresponding to those of our 'upturned bowls' strata appear to have overlapped with the painted wares typical of that site.

These analogies suggest Tell el 'Ubaid I as a *post quem* and Susa II as an *ante quem* terminus for our deposit. We may therefore assume that this kind of pottery perhaps began about 3500 B.C. or earlier, and that by 2500 at the latest it had been succeeded by the lowland painted wares which some authorities associate with the Sumerians.

An isolated form was one with an open trough spout suggesting Anatolian or Caucasian analogies but paralleled by an example (equally isolated) from Tell el 'Ubaid.<sup>5</sup>

At the level where the painted began to replace the plain pottery we found some broken vases of white calcite or alabaster, a small ovoid

1. Cf. *Mém.*, XIII, Pl. xxxii.

2. Pl. xxxv, 16; cf. *Arch.*, LXX, Fig. 3, no. 4, and Fig. 4, no. 10.

3. Pl. xxxv, 3 and 5; cf. *Arch.*, LXX, Fig. 3, no. 3, and Fig. 4, no. 8.

4. Cf. Woolley, *Antiquities of Ur*, 1930, p. 18. 'The Wasters stratum was very informative. The last traces of Jamdat Nasr gave place to plain red, sometimes burnished, more often plum-coloured and matt, and in the lower levels the black-on-white and chocolate-on-pink of the al 'Ubaid wares began to appear.'

5. Cf. *T. U.*, p. 159.

vessel with everted rim,<sup>1</sup> a flat base with flaring sides,<sup>2</sup> and a tall vase with slightly flaring sides, four suspension lugs pierced vertically and traces of a neck now broken off.<sup>3</sup> It may be remarked that vases of alabaster or calcite were characteristic of Jamdat-en-Nasr, Ur and Tepe Ali Abad (in all instances associated with painted pottery closely related to ours), and also of the graves at Abu Shahrain with plain pottery, and of the transitional period between the first and second cultures of Susa.

The painted pottery from trenches G and H occurred chiefly between the levels 10' and 17' below the datum mark, but mixed with a certain amount of Parthian material, since the foundations of the Parthian walls had been cut down into the prehistoric deposit. The only well-attested shapes were a bowl with rounded base, and vertical, or more often slightly incurved, sides,<sup>4</sup> a stemmed (sometimes ring-stemmed) goblet with well-marked shoulder,<sup>5</sup> a biconical vase with narrow cylindrical neck and suspension lugs on the shoulder with a slightly rounded base.<sup>6</sup> The coarse fabrics consisted of some painted vases, some jars with vertical sides and lunate lugs set just under the rim, and a few sherds of a very crumbling red fabric<sup>7</sup>; but all these were far outnumbered by the fine painted sherds. The pottery most typical of the deposit was a fine white, cream, or buff fabric, sometimes made by hand, sometimes turned on a rather slow wheel, showing traces of the straw that had been used as a *dégraissant*, and adorned with linear designs in a matt or slightly lustrous paint varying from black to red. If we adopt Dr. Frankfort's division of the Persian and Mesopotamian painted wares into a Highland and Lowland group without pressing the distinction too nicely, we may say that the Kouyunjik sherds belonged to a Lowland culture with some Highland affinities. This is what we might naturally expect, when we consider that Nineveh is not many miles from the hills and that the Kurdish porter is as familiar a feature of the Mosul market to-day as is the Christian trader or the Turkoman peasant of the plains. One or two designs typical of the

1. Pl. xxi, 1; cf. *Mém.*, VIII, no. 291.

2. Possibly from a bowl such as the one illustrated in *Mém.*, VII, no. 290, from Tepe Ali Abad.

3. Found associated with large painted fragments; for the shape, compare perhaps *Mém.*, VIII, no. 281, from Musyan.

4. Cf. *T.U.* types, P. viii, ix and x.

5. Pl. xxxiv, 27.

6. Pl. xxxiv, 1; cf. *Mém.*, XIII, Pl. xix, no. 1, from Susa I.

7. Also found at Hashamiyah, *Arch.*, LXXIX, p. 136.



Samarra<sup>1</sup> and Muhammedabad<sup>2</sup> vases should help to date these rather ambiguous vases, but as a whole our pottery resembled more that from Tepe Ali Abad and Tepe Khazineh in Persia, and the monochrome vases from Jamdat-en-Nasr in Iraq, and the similar ware from Ur and, to a lesser extent, the pottery from Tepe Musyan. The most common designs at Kouyunjik were band or metope schemes consisting of solid or hatched triangles,<sup>3</sup> 'herring bones,'<sup>4</sup> network,<sup>5</sup> semicircles,<sup>6</sup> and a line of hollow-sided triangles arranged as a 'daisy-chain.'<sup>7</sup> Other designs employed were a plaited straw pattern, festoons, chequers, steps, and stylised representations of birds, fish and goats. The goats do not resemble the Susa ones at all, but are not unlike some from Musyan, and the normal bird on the Kouyunjik sherds was exactly like those on an early vase from Fara.<sup>8</sup> There were one or two instances of the design being incised on an unpainted vase,<sup>9</sup> and a few coarse red sherds with thumb-nail impressions.

The pottery next in date was the mass of sherds intermingled with beads from trenches A and B, and chiefly between 25' and 35' below the datum-level. No chronological limits can be assigned to this deposit, which we shall call the Early Assyrian, but the types of the beads and the analogies of the pottery with some from the early G stratum on the Ishtar site at Ashur suggest that it may have stretched over the end of the third or beginning of the second millennium B.C.

The most characteristic ware was a fine cream or greenish-white fabric turned on a quick wheel. The principal shapes in vogue were handleless cups with vertical sides,<sup>10</sup> and bowls with slightly incurved rims<sup>11</sup> and in some instances pedestal bases. Quite common also were large *pithoi* with modelled rims, hatched triangles incised on the neck and plastic rope ornaments.<sup>12</sup> Probably contemporary with part of this deposit

1. Cf. *Journal Royal Anthr. Soc.*, Oct. 1924, Pl. xv, no. 3, and *Mém.*, VIII. no. 163, from Musyan.

2. Cf. *ibid.*, Pl. xv, no. 9, and Pl. xvi, nos. 6 and 7.

3. Pl. xxxiii, 13, 14, 16, 19, 22, 29, and Pl. xxxiv, 14, 16, 27.

4. Pl. xxxiii, 5, 26, 28.

5. Pl. xxxiii, 17, 21, 31, and Pl. xxxiv, 1.

6. Pl. xxxiii, 1, and Pl. xxxiv, 18.

7. Pl. xxxiii, 13, 14.

8. Article on 'Vase' in Ebert's *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, Vol. XIV, p. 85.

9. Cf. Pl. xxxiii, 26, with Pl. xxxiv, 2.

10. Cf. Andrae, *Archaische Ishtar Tempel*, Pl. xxv, g and h (21649d and 21646g respectively).

11. Cf. Andrae, *ibid.*

12. Cf. Andrae, *op. cit.*, Pl. xxii, c, f and g. I have picked up a rim of this type on the ploughland north of Tell Yarimjeh.

were some fragments of a fine grey wheel-made bucchero (better represented in trench  $\psi$ ), decorated like the *pihoi*, but the only forms found were fragments of cups shaped like a whipping-top,<sup>1</sup> and a narrow-necked vase. In this stratum and in the one above were some animal figurines; the earliest seem to have been intended to represent a ram, but the later examples were more indefinite; one showed traces of two wavy bands of red paint.<sup>2</sup>

The deposits which I have classified as Middle Assyrian consist chiefly of the debris found between 15' and 25' below the datum-level in trenches A and B, but a certain quantity of similar material was noticeable in the south corner of D.

The typical fabric was moderately fine and had been turned on a quick wheel, the colour being brown, buff, cream or white; the favourite shape was a pear-shaped vase with short cylindrical neck and a small base attached separately. The marks of the chopped straw that had been used as a *dégraissant* had been smoothed away on the finer vases but were large and obvious on the coarser ones; the latter included large bowls, *pihoi*, braziers,<sup>3</sup> and vase-stands with crinkled rims.<sup>4</sup>

Contemporary with these was a series of painted vases with shapes similar to those of the finer variety of plain wares, but usually of much thinner and better fabric. The ornaments were either painted directly on the clay in matt red or brown, or else in matt white on a ground band of black paint; they included returning spirals, the so-called 'running-dog' device, lattices, arcades, conventionalised birds, wavy lines, concentric circles, and simple girdling bands. I am indebted to Dr. Starr of the Harvard-Baghdad School, who has been excavating at Nuzi, near Kirkuk, for permission to state that he found similar pottery there, and that at Nuzi it could be dated between 1650 and 1400 B.C. Similar sherds from Ashur have been assigned to the thirteenth century,<sup>5</sup> and a whole vase now in the Louvre was said to have been found at Tell Jigan, near Mosul.<sup>6</sup> The returning spirals and 'running-dog' patterns recall contemporary designs in the Aegean<sup>7</sup>; it would of course be very rash

1. Cf. examples from the 1930-31 excavations, to be published subsequently.

2. Pl. xxiv, 1 to 4 and 7 to 13.

3. Andrae, *op. cit.*, Pl. xxvi, no. 2165 a.n., from area F.

4. Andrae, *op. cit.*, Fig. 25, no. 21804. and unpublished examples from Nuzi.

5. Andrae, *Coloured Ceramics*, Pl. v.

6. Perrot Chipiez, Vol. II, Fig. 186.

7. See especially Evans, *Palace of Minos*, Vol. II, *passim*; returning spirals might of course be derived from metal work, but the 'running-dog' is different.

to assume that they had therefore been borrowed thence,<sup>1</sup> but some trade connection certainly existed, since examples of Aegean (probably Cyprian) faience were discovered at Ashur in deposits that could be dated between 1250 and 1100, as was pointed out by Dr. Hall, who suggested the first half of the thirteenth century as a probable date for their manufacture.<sup>2</sup> In the same stratum we found also scattered fragments of a grey bucchero usually hand-made, but in two instances turned on a slow wheel. Mr. Sidney Smith informed me that he had not seen it before in Mesopotamia. In fabric it is identical with the Middle Bronze Age ware known to students of Greek and Trojan pre-history as 'grey Minyan' or 'Orchomenos ware,' and like this latter our ware was remarkable for its horizontal ribbing or fluting.

There was one example of a bridged spout recalling that of the 'Minyan' jar from the Sixth Shaft Grave at Mycenae, but on the whole the Kouyunjik shapes differed from those of Troy and Greece. Most of our sherds had belonged to wide bowls with club-headed rims and horizontal ribbing below, one or two suggested deeper vessels of the beaker form, and one rim had an incised band resembling the dentils of an Ionic frieze.<sup>3</sup> Our bucchero sherds were probably later than most of the Greek and Trojan vases in that technique, and I do not imply that there is any direct connection between them; but the sudden appearance of a normally hand-made fabric in a district that had been using only wheel-made vases for more than a thousand years does really seem to suggest some foreign influence. From independent sources we know that Assyria was in close contact with the Aegean in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries.<sup>4</sup> I therefore suggest that in the second millennium B.C. a fashion in bucchero may have spread over part of Greece and Asia Minor analogous to that which extended over Lydia, Aeolis, Lesbos and Etruria in the seventh century B.C., and that our fabric is probably related to some unknown group in the south-west part of Asia Minor.

The early bucchero vases from Persia recently acquired by the British Museum together with the painted ones from Nihavand differ from our

1. The converse theory is almost impossible because the designs in question are rare in Mesopotamia and very common in the Aegean.

2. *Journal of the Hellenic Society*, 1928, Part 1, p. 64.

3. The last-named was found in a mixed deposit of Middle Assyrian and plain pre-historic sherds (chiefly the latter), and might conceivably be 2000 years older than the date I have assigned to it.

4. To the evidence of the faience from Ashur add the two Mycenaean beads from Nineveh, dated by Mr. Beck to about 1200 B.C. (*Arch.*, LXXIX, p. 143, Fig. 2c).

sherds in shape and even to some extent in fabric, but the isolated grey fragment from Muhammedabad resembles ours very closely.

The pottery I shall classify as Late Assyrian consisted principally of the vases and fragments from the site of the ninth-century Palace of Ashurnasirpal II and its subsequent restorations, though a few sherds may belong to the days of Tiglath Pileser I (1115-1100 B.C.). The great majority was characterised by a porous red or creamy fabric with large straw-marks. We have picked up similar sherds at Ashur, but I could not identify it in the official reports of the site.<sup>1</sup> The same type of pottery, however, was found by Professor Sir Flinders Petrie in the Assyrian stratum at Gerar (*Gerar*, Pl. lxxv, and p. 6).

The most common shapes were a bowl with concave neck and well-marked shoulder,<sup>2</sup> another with everted rim and angular shoulder,<sup>3</sup> a bowl with flat rim (only found in fragments), pear-shaped vases with cylindrical necks and button bases<sup>4</sup> (Andrae's 'nipple cups'), *pithoi* with everted rims—all fragmentary—and lamps with out-curved rims and long nozzles.<sup>5</sup>

All the vases from this stratum were devoid of slip or decoration, excepting only the rare examples of glaze and a coarse fabric decorated with architectural designs (arcades and battlements) in powdery white-and-yellow paint. Probably many of these belonged to the nineteenth century B.C., since many of the painted bricks of this period bear similar designs.

One unique vase (Pl. XXXV, no. 2) found in Chamber V, below the level of the floor, should by its context be Middle or Late Assyrian; the shape bears a misleading resemblance to the 'cornets' of Susa I, but a fairer analogy probably is afforded by the consoles from Ashur.<sup>6</sup> Another isolated form is the vase-stand (Pl. XXXVIII, no. 11) found at C. 15 in the Palace, and resembling the 'Herd-stander' from Ashur.<sup>7</sup> The fabric is harder and closer than that of most of our Late Assyrian sherds, but there seems no reason to date it any later and it might well be older.

1. Except that Andrae mentions the 'nipple vases' in dealing with the glazed examples (*Coloured Ceramics*, Fig. 26).

2. Pl. xxxvi, 11, 19; cf. *Arch.*, LXXIX, Pl. liii, nos. 138, 162, and Petrie, *Gerar*, nos. 15 and 18.

3. Cf. *Arch.*, LXXIX, Pl. liii, no. 147; Petrie, nos. 17, 19 and 20.

4. Pl. xxxv, 13; cf. *Arch.*, LXXIX, Pl. liv, nos. 179, 190; Petrie, nos. 4 and probably 5-8.

5. Pl. xxxvii, 11, 12; cf. *Arch.*, LXXIX, Pl. lv, nos. 196-200, 207.

6. Cf. Andrae, *Archaische Ischiar Tempel*, No. 9930, but the parallel is far from being exact.

7. Andrae, *op. cit.*, Pl. ix, 43, from area G.

One glazed vase (Pl. XXXV, no. 11) should be Late Assyrian, to judge by its provenance, but the glaze closely resembles the Parthian type; the shape is new and the broken ridge on the shoulder cannot be restored, in spite of the fact that we found fragments of another.

The Parthian fabrics do not differ substantially from those found in 1928-29 except that some new shapes occurred,<sup>1</sup> and certain types which I have hitherto believed might be either Assyrian or Parthian I am now inclined to classify as definitely Parthian.<sup>2</sup>

The chief Parthian fabrics were a ware (limited to shallow saucers) coated with a hard but crackly white glaze; a red painted ware with Aegean rather than Mesopotamian shapes<sup>3</sup>; a very friable fabric covered with a glaze that varied from cream to yellow, brown, blue or green, with the last-named colour predominating, and with shapes that were sometimes Aegean, more often Babylonian, but never, so far as I am aware, purely Assyrian. Shapes such as the bellying jar might appear to be derived from the 'Schulternapf' of an earlier date at Ashur, but they too have Babylonian parallels.

One group of foundations in E seems to be associated with the early Christian fabric adorned with stamped medallions, of which we found pieces in fair frequency. Rich identified it as Sassanian nearly a hundred years ago, and there is no doubt that many of the devices were closely related to the stucco reliefs found in Sassanian palaces.<sup>4</sup> The recent researches of M. Watelin at Kish have shown that these reliefs can date back even to the time of Ardashir I, and some of the pottery with stamped designs may have begun considerably earlier than the sixth and seventh centuries, to which I have hitherto assigned it. The presence of Christian symbols, however, suggests that much of it belongs to the end of the Sassanian period after the Henoticon of the Emperor Zeno in 482 A.D. and the consequent dispersion of the two extreme parties in the Monophysite quarrel.

To the Sassanian period belong the lamps illustrated on Pl. XXXVII, nos. 2 and 4.

The mediaeval deposit uncovered in 1929-30 was thin and chiefly consisted of remains of the latest period (fourteenth century (?) A.D.).

1. Pl. xxxvi, 21, and Pl. xxxviii, 2, 4, 5 and 12.

2. *E.g.*, *Arch.*, LXXIX, Pl. liii, nos. 123, 124, 131-37, 139-43, 149, 150, 153-58, 163-65, and Pl. liv, nos. 166-70, 173-78, 181, 184, 185 and 187.

3. Strzygowski, *Altai-Iran und Völker Wanderung*, Figs. 184, 185 and 186.

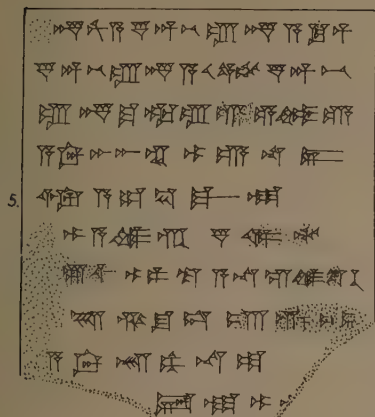
4. See Langdon, *Illustrated London News*, Feb. 14th, 1931.



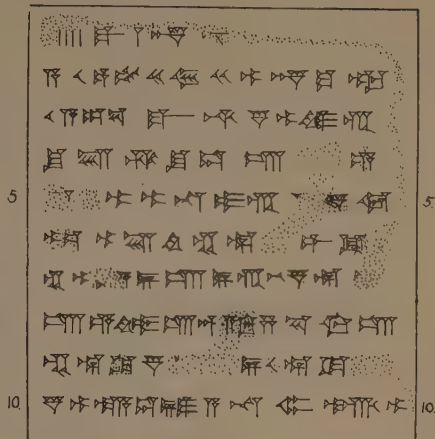
One or two early barbotine sherds were found, but little else that could be assigned to the Samarra period.

The fourteenth-century stratum included many sherds of the local green and mottled glazes, and a few examples of the fine blue faience paralleled at Rakka, but strangely reminiscent of a Romano-Egyptian fabric of the first century A.D.

No. 6. H.10. Marble. 37" x 21"

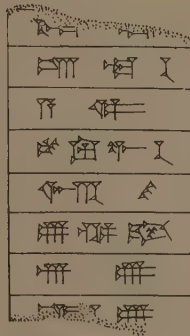
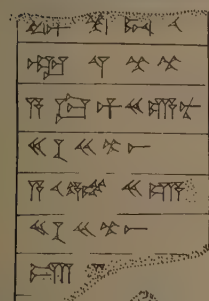


No. 8. Chamber IV. Marble. 1'6" x 1'6"



No. 9.

H.4. Marble. 21 1/2" x 18". Obverse H.4. Reverse



FACE B.

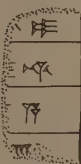
FACE A.

No. 10  
D.6. Marble  
inscribed on  
both sides.

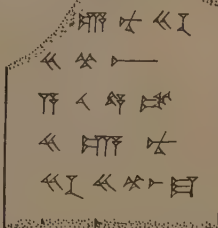
12 1/2" x 14 1/2"

No. 13.

H.6. Marble.  
3 1/2" x 8"



Reverse.



No. 12.  
A. Marble.  
7 1/2" x 9"



Direction  
of other side.

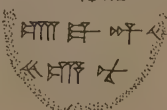
No. 15H, 13.

Basalt



5 1/2" x 5"

No. 11. Dump of 1927, Basalt  
4 3/4" x 2"



No. 14.

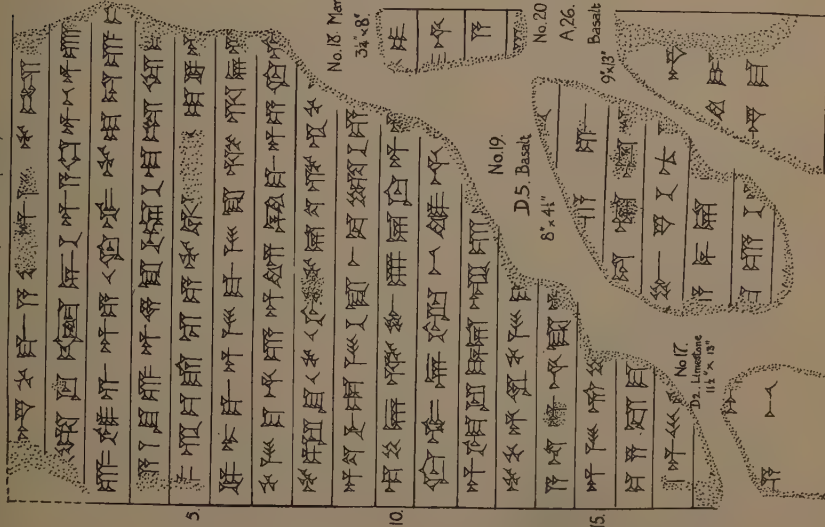
D.11.

BASALT OBELISK.

For Nos. 1-547 see Translations.



No. 16 C. 14. Small stela. Marble (now in Baghdad).

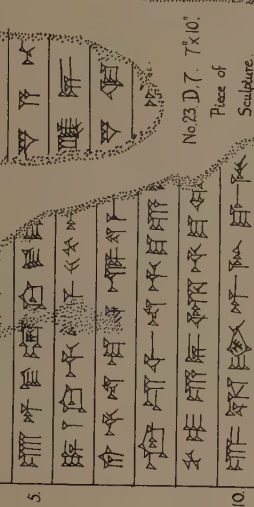


C. 14. Reverse.

No. 22.

AB. Piece of Sculpture 6 1/2 x 8.

(Part of name of Lion).



No. 23 D. 7. 7 x 10.

Piece of Sculpture.

(Part of name of Lion).

(Part of name of Lion).

(Part of name of Lion).

(Part of name of Lion).

(Part of name of Lion).

(Part of name of Lion).

(Part of name of Lion).

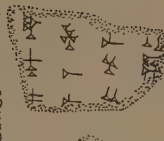
(Part of name of Lion).

(Part of name of Lion).

These two pieces belong to the slab of Ashurnasirpal's Lion Hunt found in 1927 (Arch. Pl. xi, 4-10, Pl. lux. 4). (Now in Baghdad).

No. 21 D. 12. Marble.

5 1/2 x 6 1/2



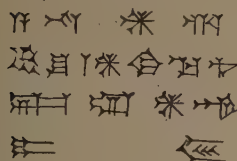




Bricks unless it is otherwise stated

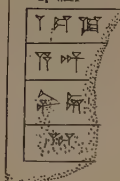
No. 24.

A6(24") A9(23") A11(21") A18(24")  
B12(24") C16(wall): Pavement 15'6" one  
below pavement 15'6" (B.19).



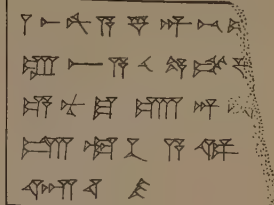
No. 25

Chamber II, N.E. Wall, 2 1/2" thick  
(and one duplicate)  
2 1/2" thick

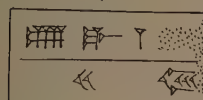


No. 26.

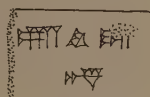
Chamber A, SE. Wall, 5th course up. Edge 4 1/2"



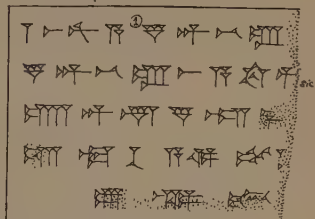
No. 27. D. 4, on edge, 2 1/2"



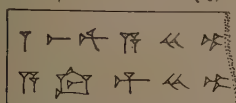
No. 28. H. 6, on edge, 2 1/2"



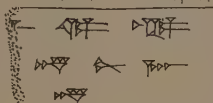
No. 29. H. 11, Edge 4 1/2"



No. 30. Composite: A. 10(4 1/2") A. 8(4 1/2")

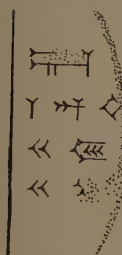


No. 31. C. 20, Chamber V, edge 4 1/2"

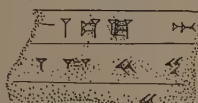


No. 33. C. 20 (Chamber V) on face.

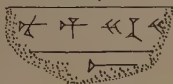
No. 32. Chamber I, NE wall, 3rd course up.



No. 34. C. 24, chain, out of place: edge 2 1/2"

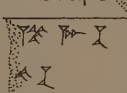


No. 35. H. 2, edge.

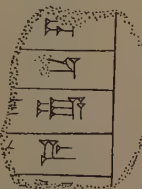


No. 36.

Surface: edge 2 1/2"



No. 37.  
FIELD 3 S. OF  
NEAR TUNUS.



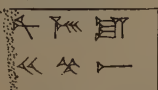
No. 38. Marble: 6" x 6"



No. 40.

D. 5. Limestone, 13" x 5 1/2"

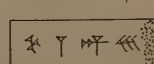
First  
face



(Underneath, on second face) No. 41. D. 10, on edge.



No. 42. A. 6, edge 4"

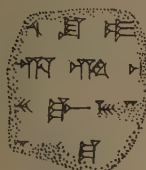




Bricks, unless it is otherwise stated.

No. 43.

H.3. Marble. 6x5½"

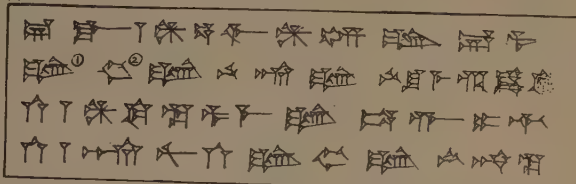


No. 46.



No. 45. Marble. 13½x5"

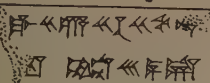
No. 44. Composite text, on edge: A.8.6": A.22.43. B.22: C.18 (Ch. II) H.8.5"



① V. ② V. ③ V. No. 48. C.16 edge 4": Ch. III, NE wall, 4½"

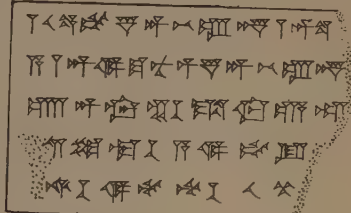
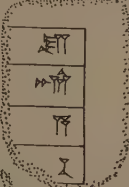
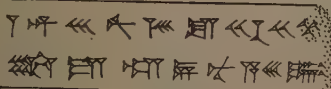
Brick from A.15 on edge, 4"

No. 47. A.6. On face, (and dup.)

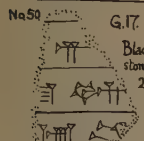


No. 49.

Brick from ploughland E. of Nebi Yunus written on edge, 4½"



No. 53. D.8: D.12: H.2: Arch. I No. 84: etc. On face.

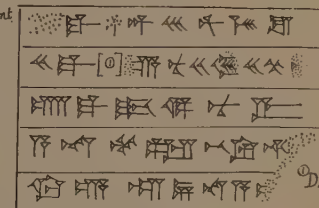
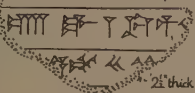


G.17.

No. 51. D.8: Limestone.

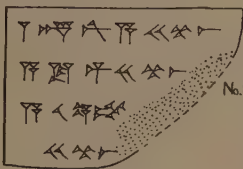


No. 52. Ch. IV, 7th course of pavement.

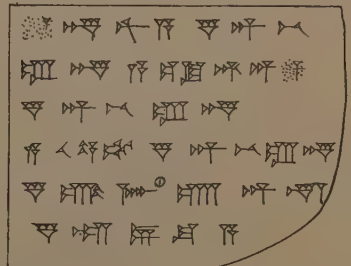


No. 54. D.7. Limestone. 7x6"

No. 55. Clay hand. D.10.



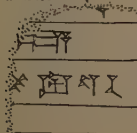
No. 58. Clay Hands inscribed on right or left side of fist, with variable division of lines: A.15: G.15: H.9, H.15.



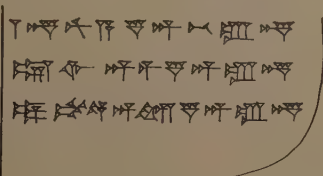
① V. omits

No. 56.

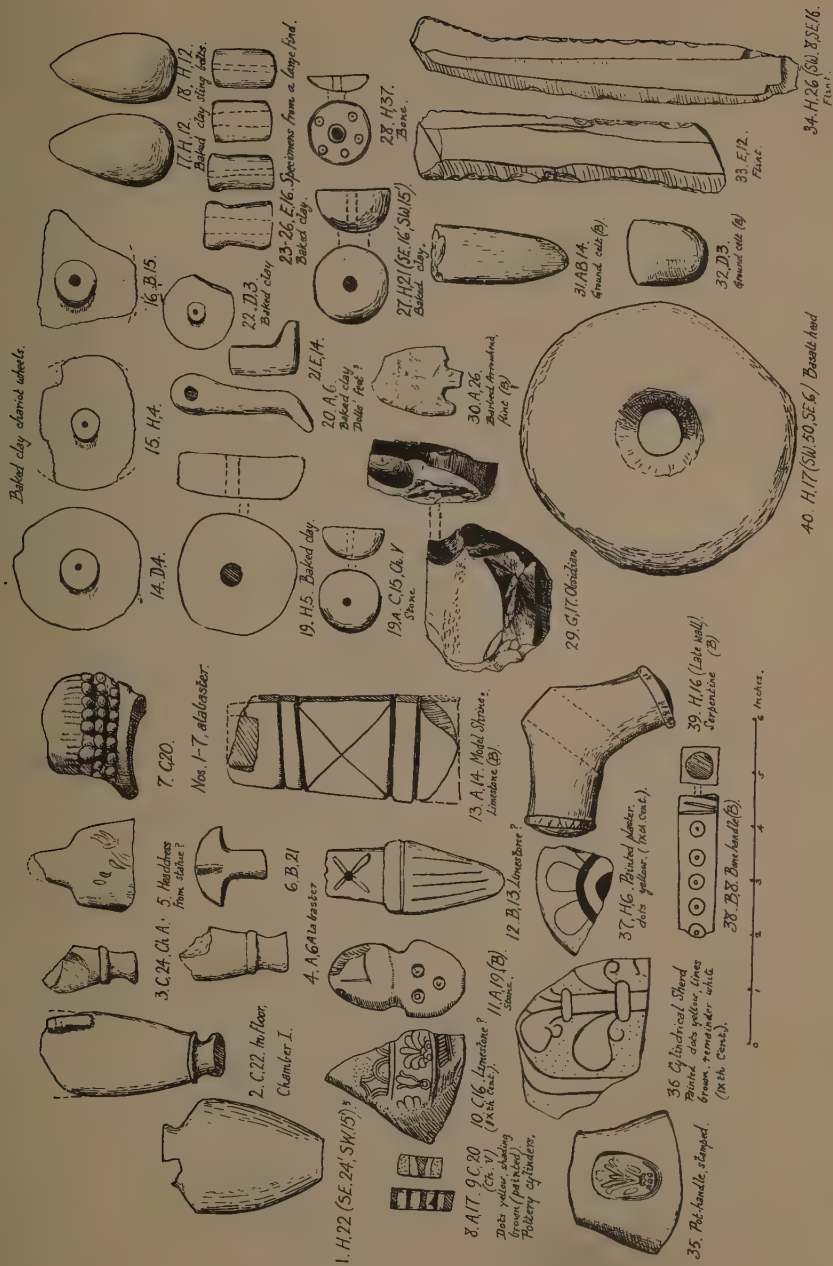
C.7. Marble. 10½x7"



No. 57. Clay Hand, short SW. wall, G. 21/6"









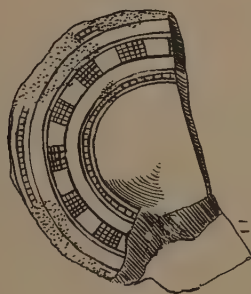




1. H.I. Ostrakone.

(B).

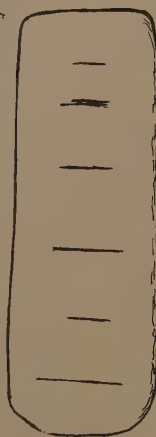
2. A.II. Ostrakone.



3. C.18. Lion modelled in high relief (B)

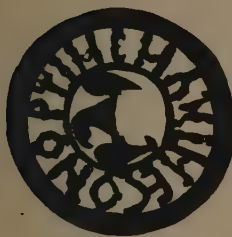
0 1 2 3  
Inches.

4. D.8. Bowl? Felspar?



5. A.22. Rough Scale on Stone (5 1/4" x 1 1/2" x 2 1/2").

0 1 2 3 4  
Inches.



6. D.6. Bronze.

0 1 2  
Inches.



7. Seal Impression.

0 1 2 3 4  
Inches.

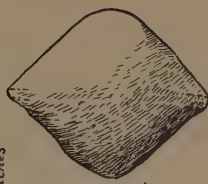


9. Bowl (clorize?), Chamber IV, C.25, (below floor, (B).

0 1 2 3 4 5  
Inches



8. B.28 Cylinder Seal.



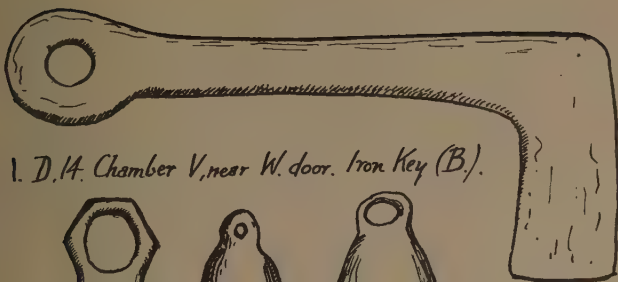
11. H.17. Lump of Clay



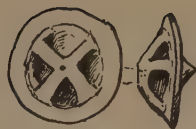
10. H.17 (SE.7. SW.38). Seal Impression on lump of clay.

0 1 2 3 4  
Inches

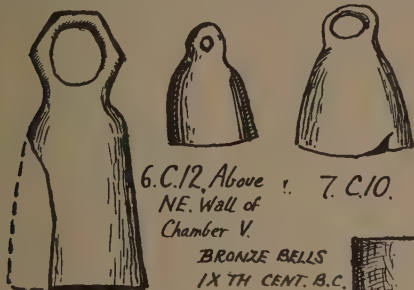




1. D. 14. Chamber V, near W. door. Iron Key (B.).



2. B. 19. Near Pavement. Bronze



6. C. 12. Above NE. Wall of Chamber V.

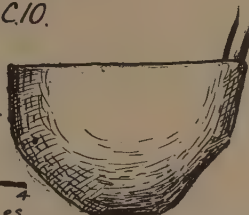
7. C. 10.

BRONZE BELLS  
IX TH CENT. A.C.

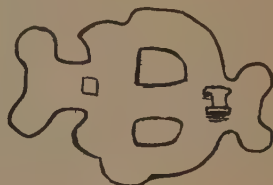


3. AB 27. Bronze 4. H. 12. (others found).

5. A. 20.



8. D. 6. Bronze Cyathus (B.).



9. A. 1. Bronze (B.).



E. A. Alabaster Hercules (?) (B.).



11. A. 22. Terra Cotta (cream) Parthian.



12. Piece of VII TH Century Assyrian Sculpture. Well (A. 32).

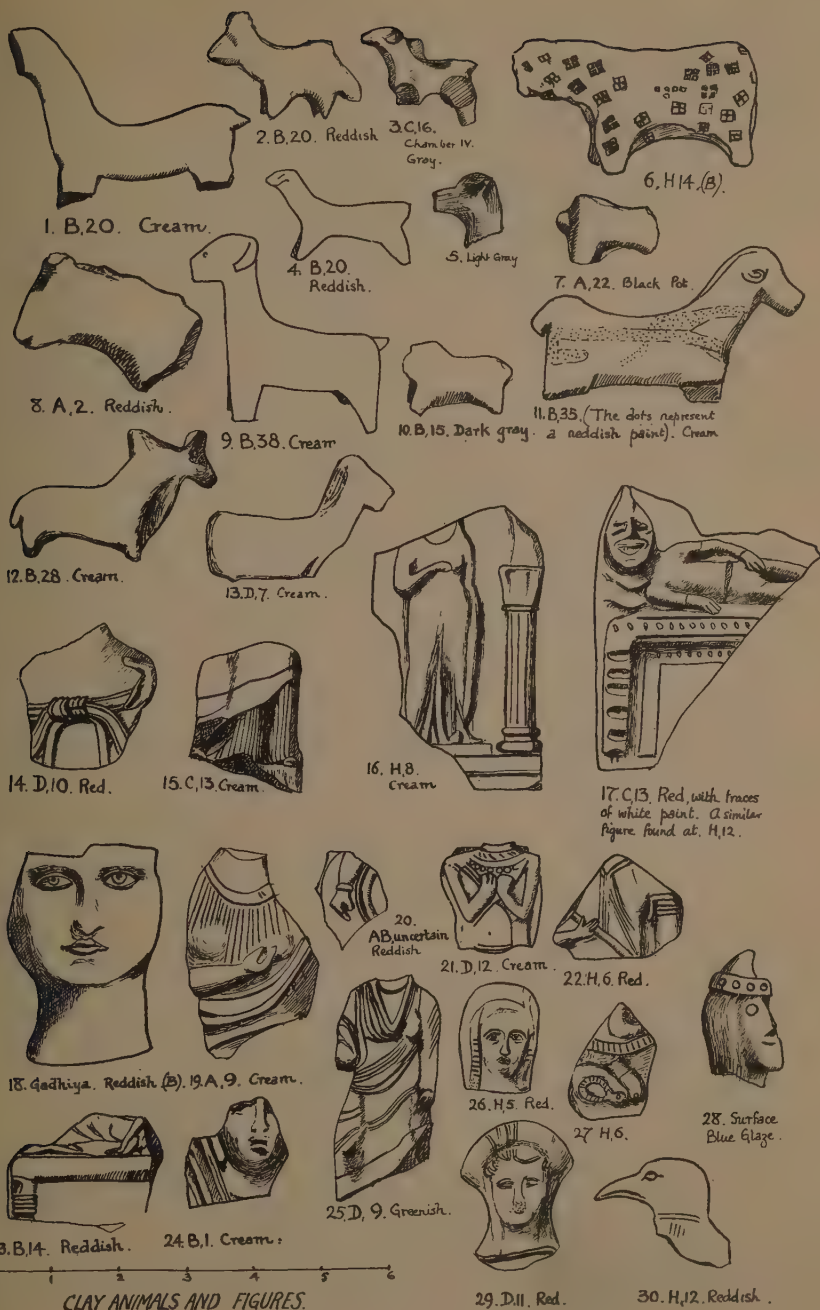
0 1 2 Inches.

0 1 1 1/2 Inches.

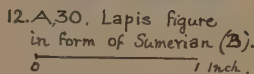
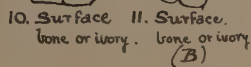
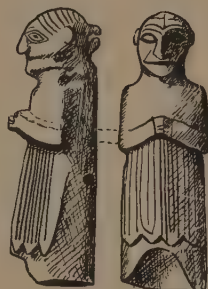
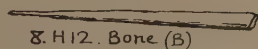
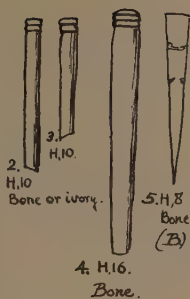
0 1 2 inches



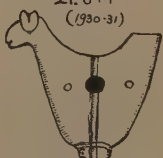








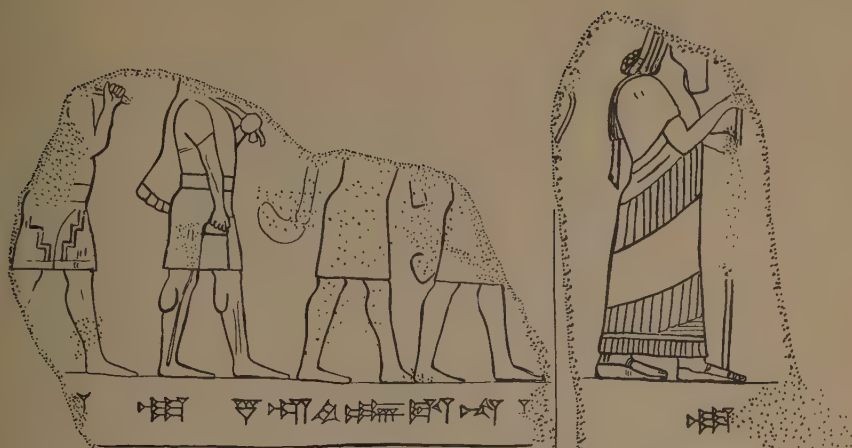
1. H.6. Bone (B).



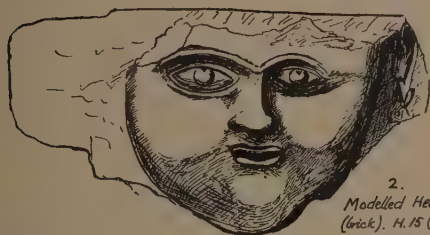
Beads.





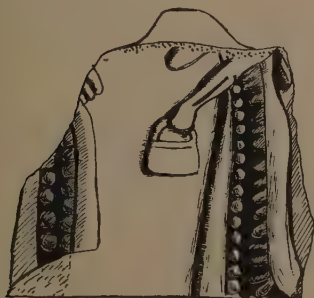


1. Two Faces of  
a limestone  
Obelisk. (B).



2.  
Modelled Head  
(brick). H. 15 (B)

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 inches.



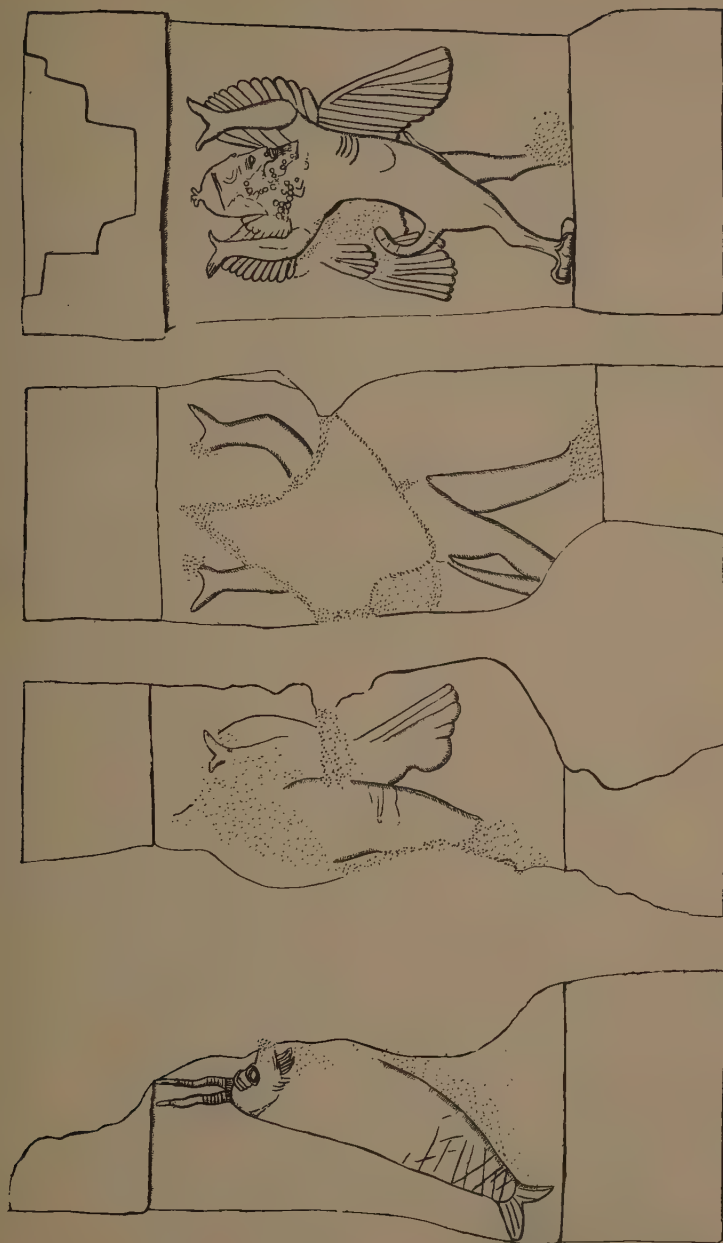
3. Fragment of basalt Obelisk.



4. C. 20. Chamber II. Brick (B).



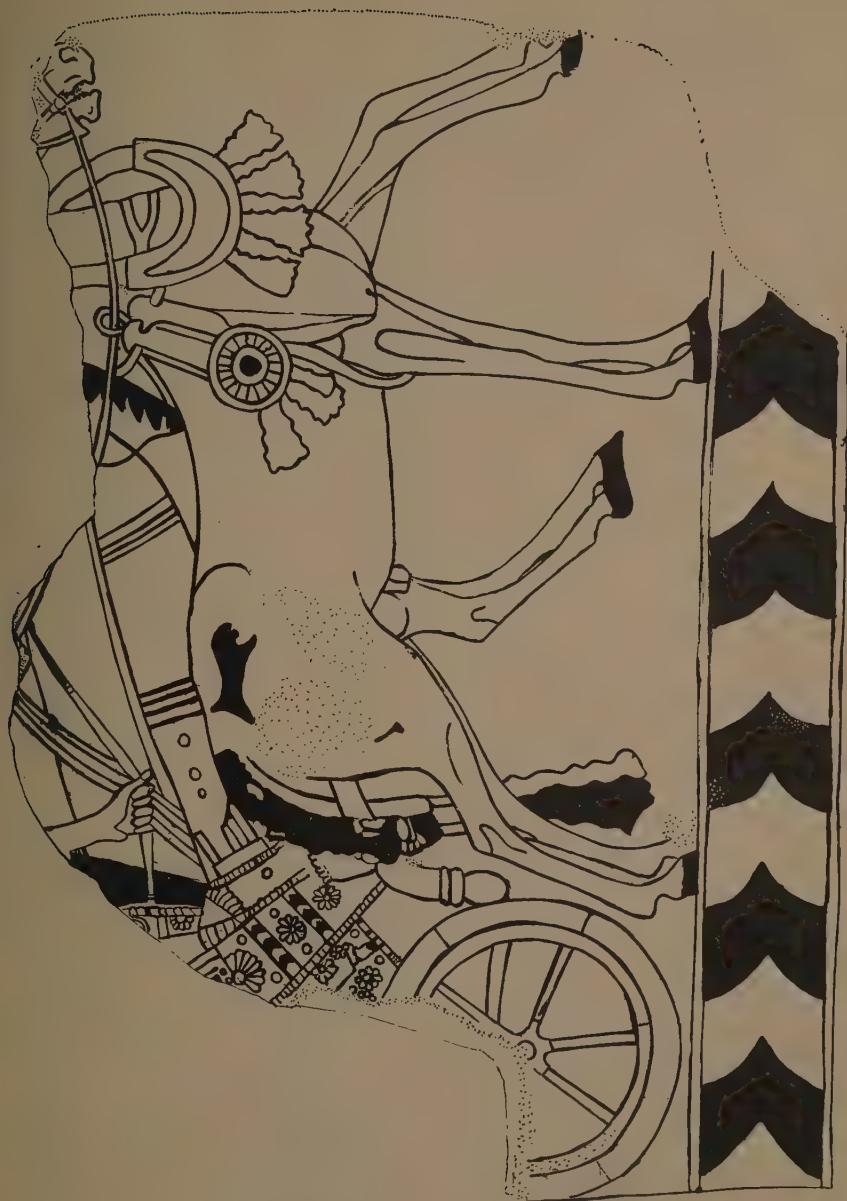




Four-Sided Assyrian Altar (A.T.) Limestone

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7  
Inches



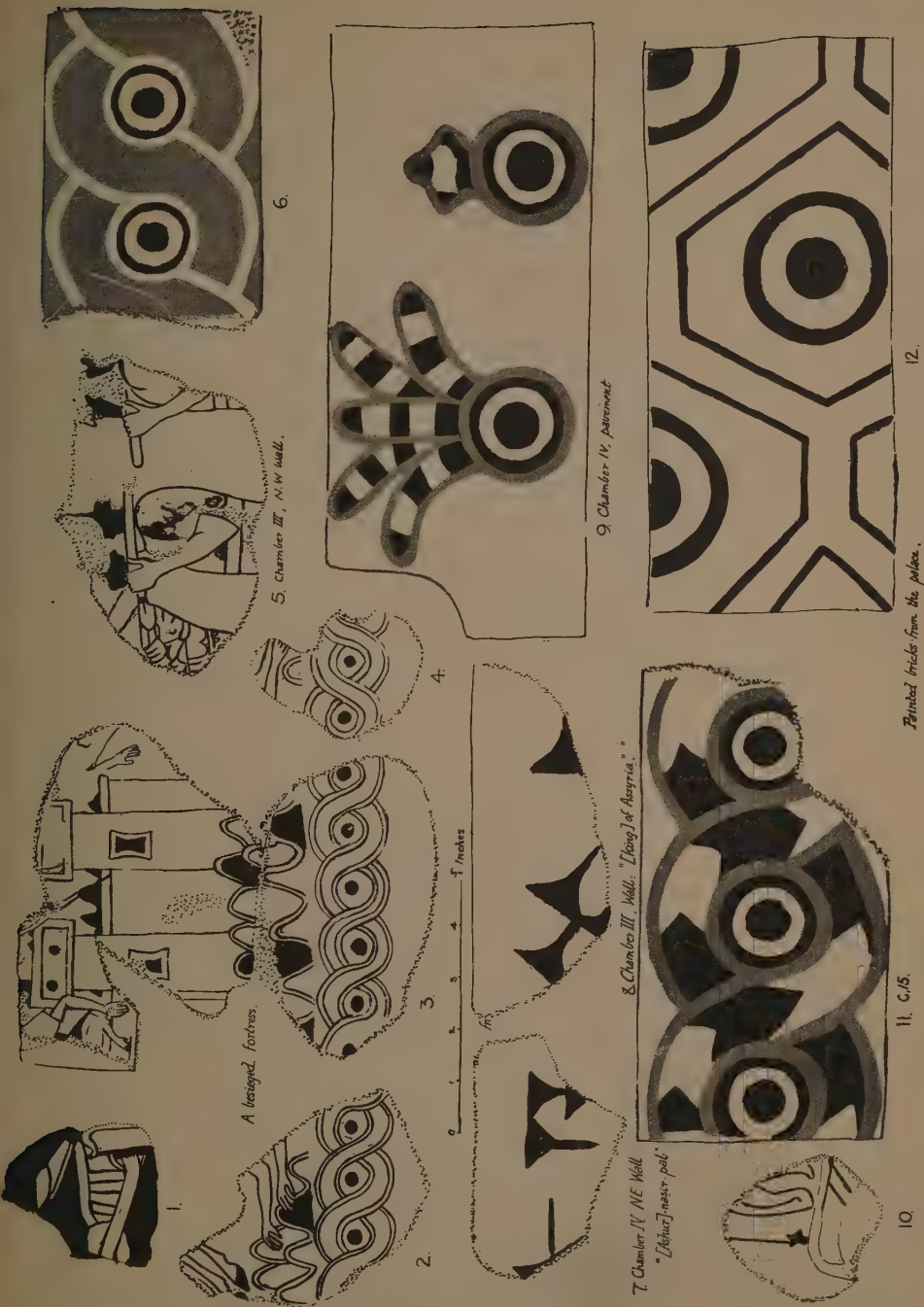


C.20'. Painted Brick from the site of the Palace. (B).  
(Yellow, white, black).

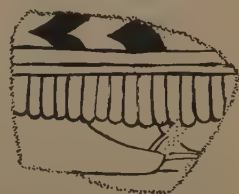
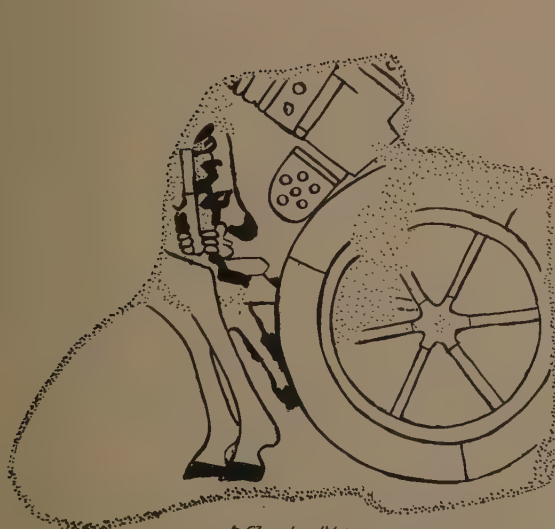
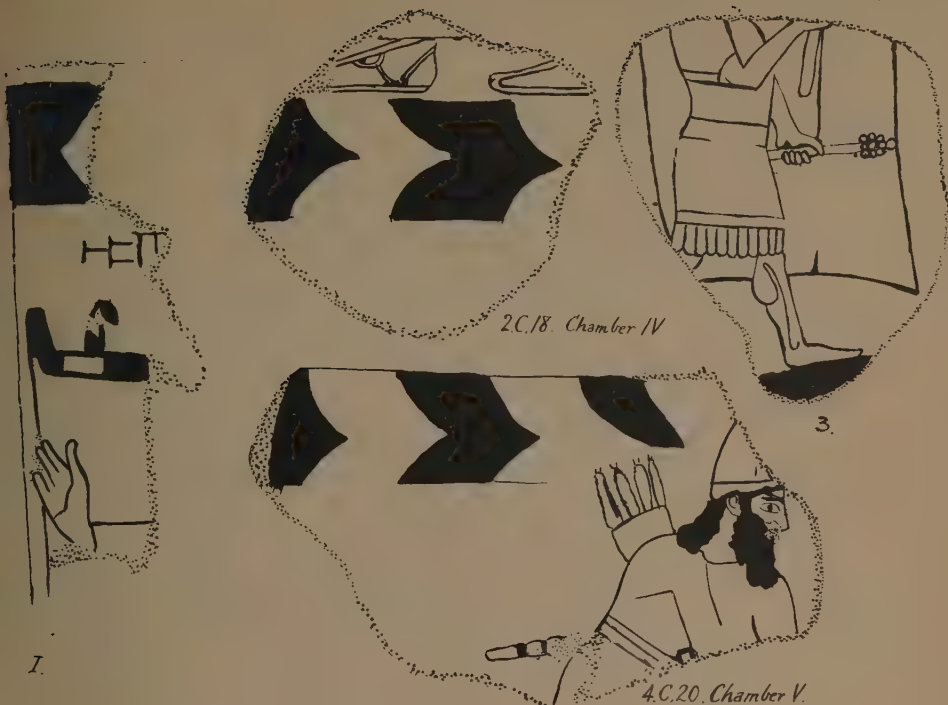
0 1 2 3 4 5 inches.











*Painted Bricks (yellow, black, white). IXth Century, B.C.*

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 Inches

*(From the site of the Palace).*





1 (Chamber I, under NE. Wall) (B)

2 (B).

Painted Bricks from the Site of the Palace.



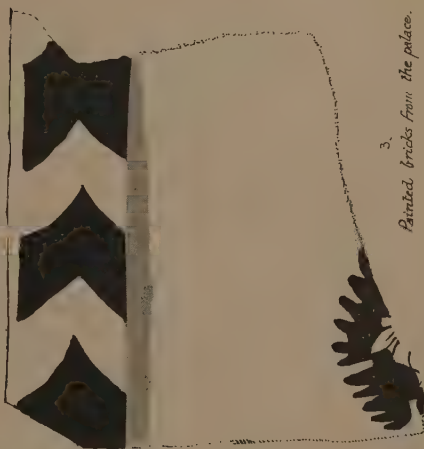




1 (B)



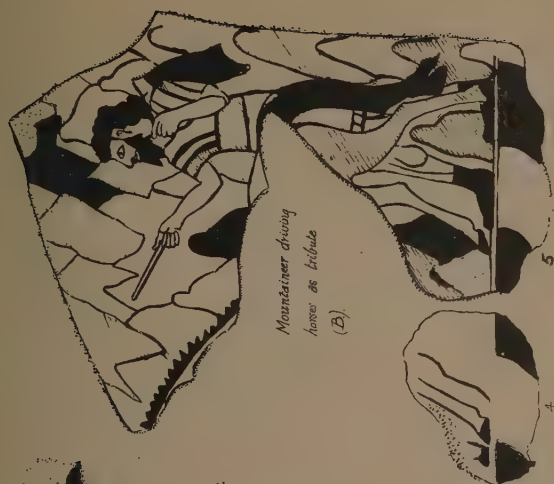
2. C.17. Chamber V (B).



3

Painted bricks from the palace.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 inches.



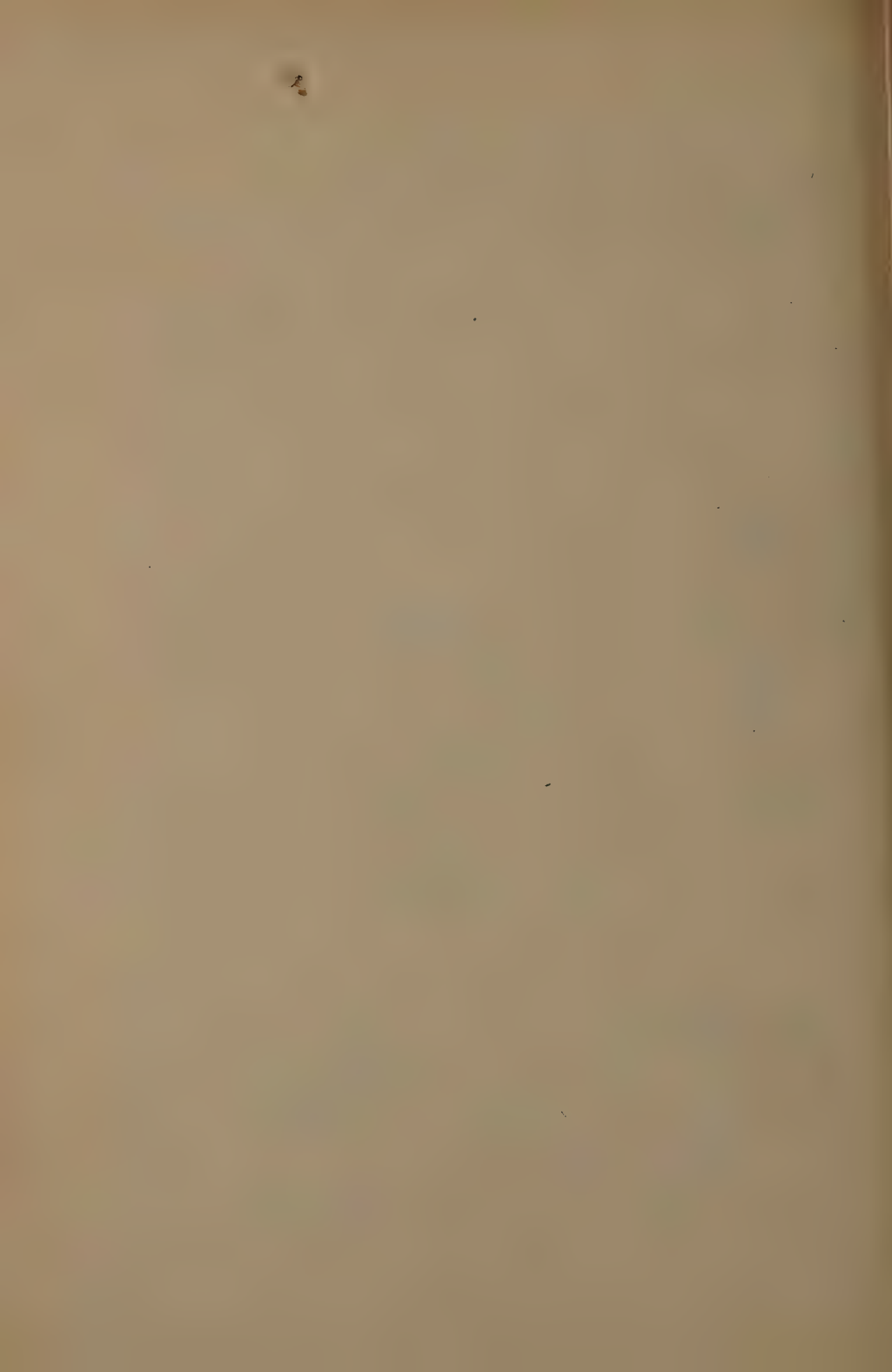
4

Mountainer driving  
horses as tribute  
(B).



5

6. C.13. In relief; white paint on brown brick (B).





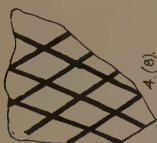
1. H. 10 (B).



2. H. (B).



3.



4. (B).



5. H. 4 (B).



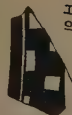
7. H. 12.



8. H. 13.



9. H. 14.



10. H. 13.



11. H. 8.



12. H. 13.



13. H. 13.



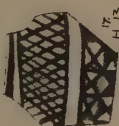
14. H. 6.



15. H. 1.



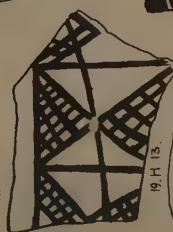
16. H. 13.



17. H. 13.



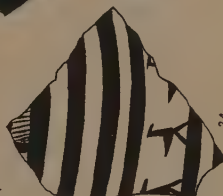
18. H. 10 (B).



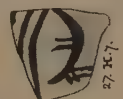
19. H. 13.



20. H. 12.



21. H. 1.



22. H. 13.



23. H. 13.



24. H. 7.



25. H. 13.



26. H. 12.

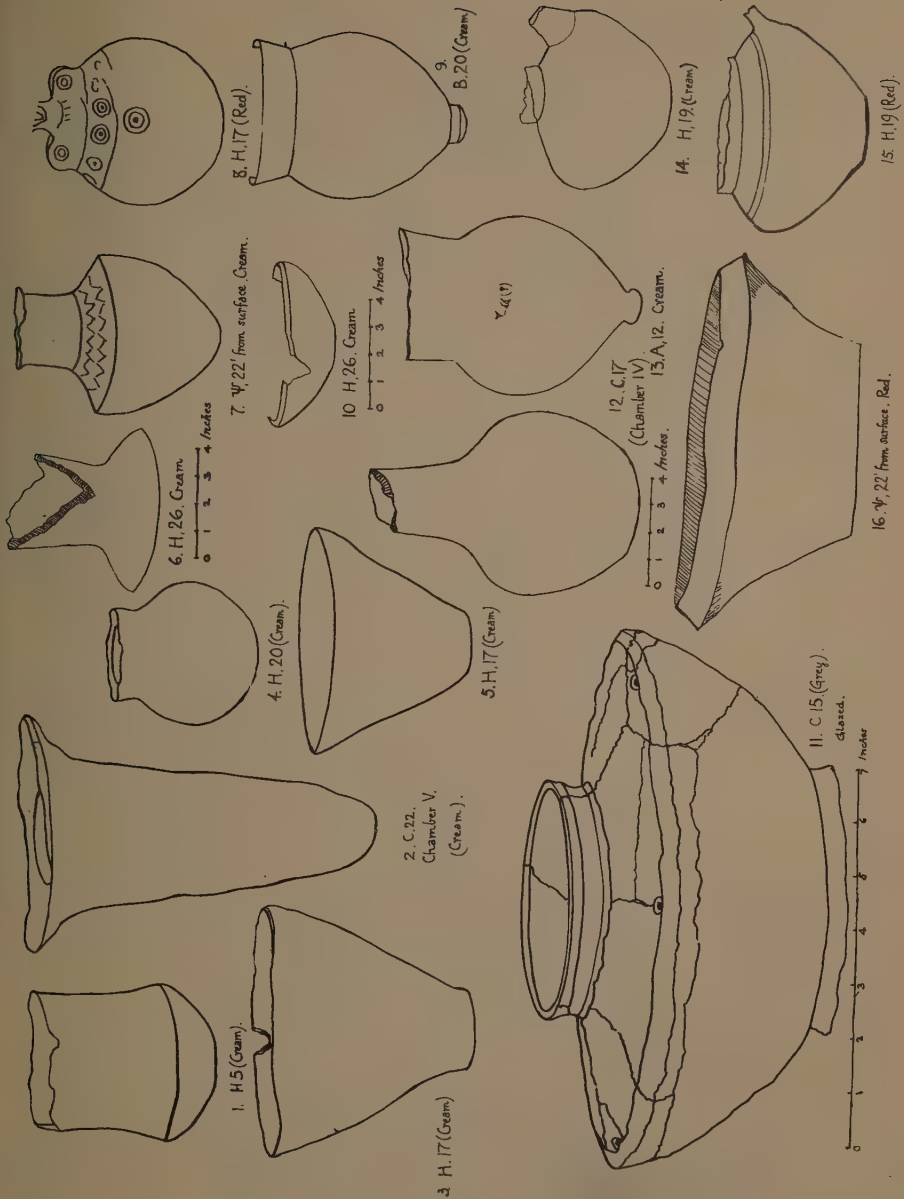




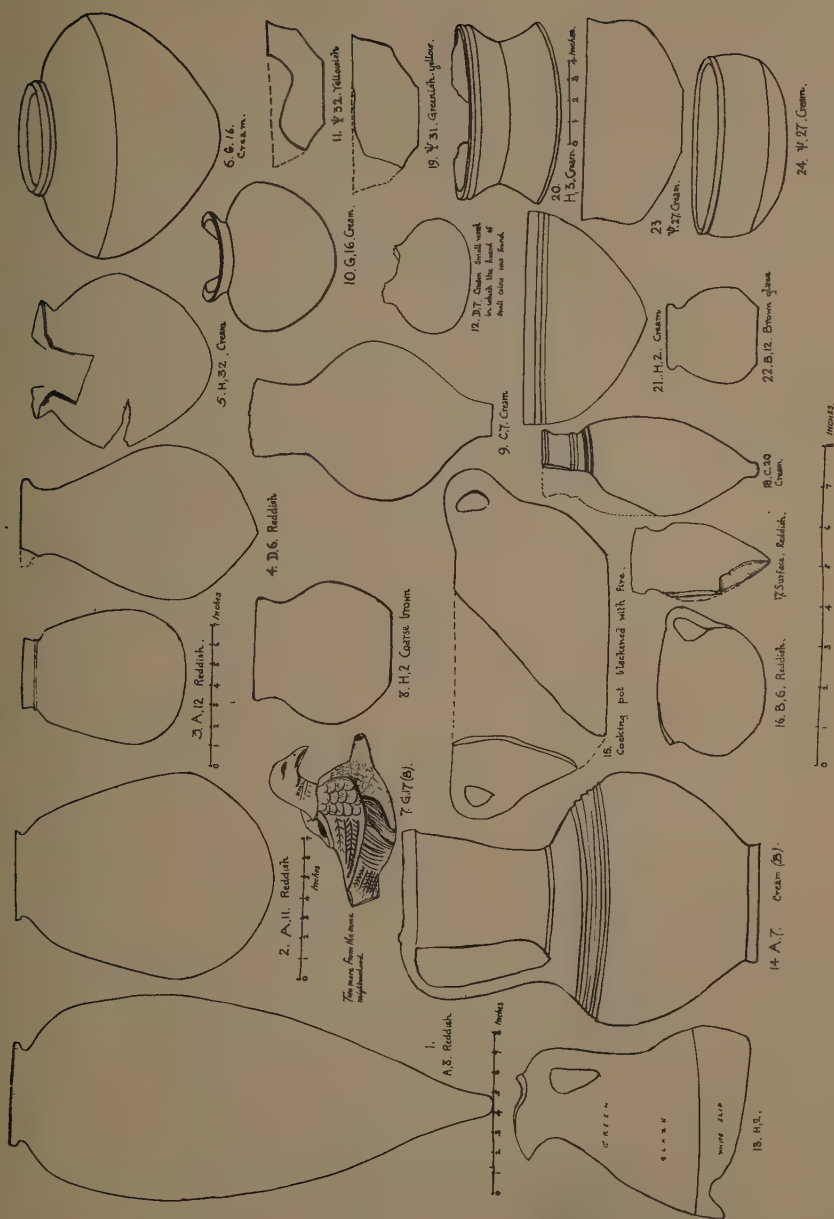




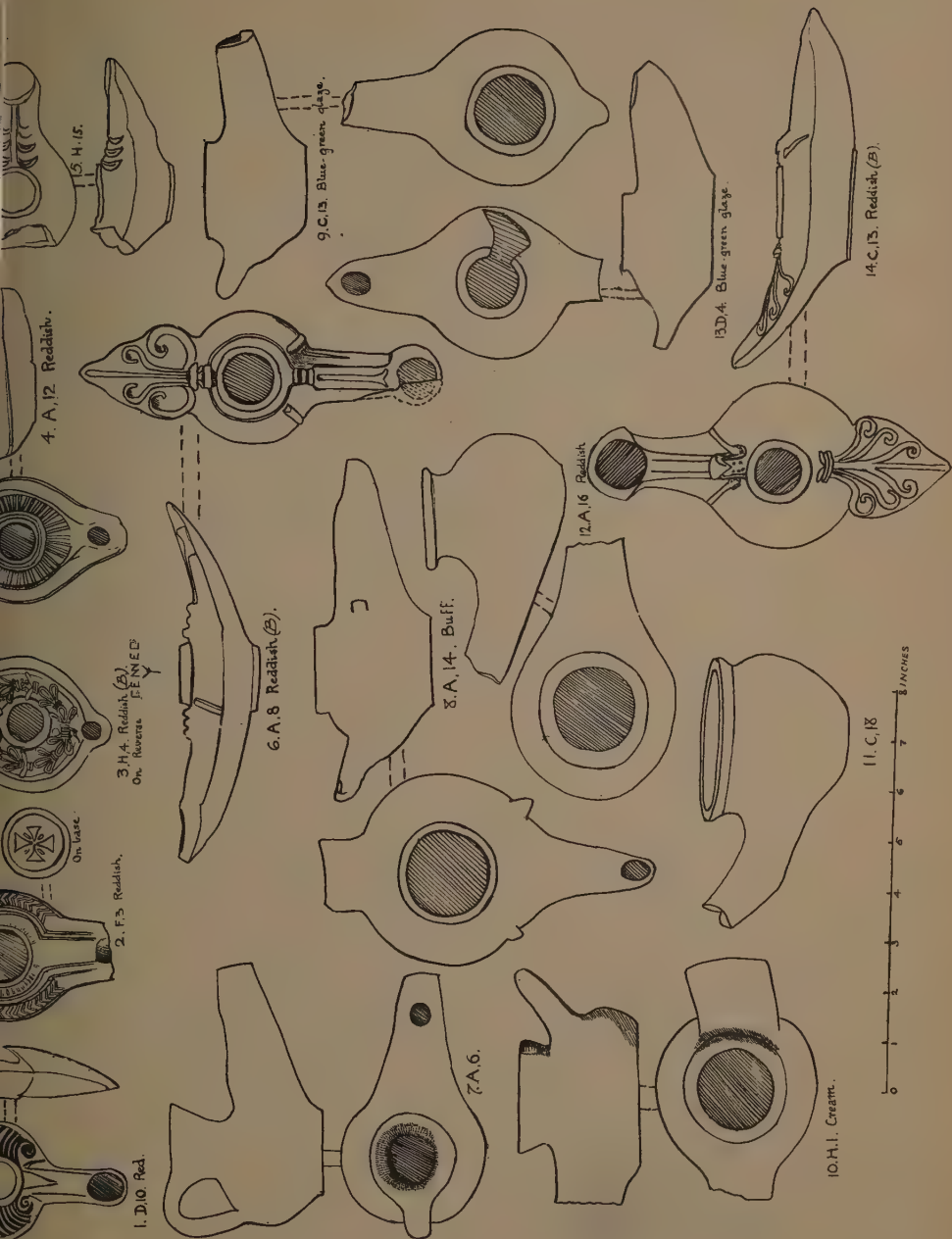






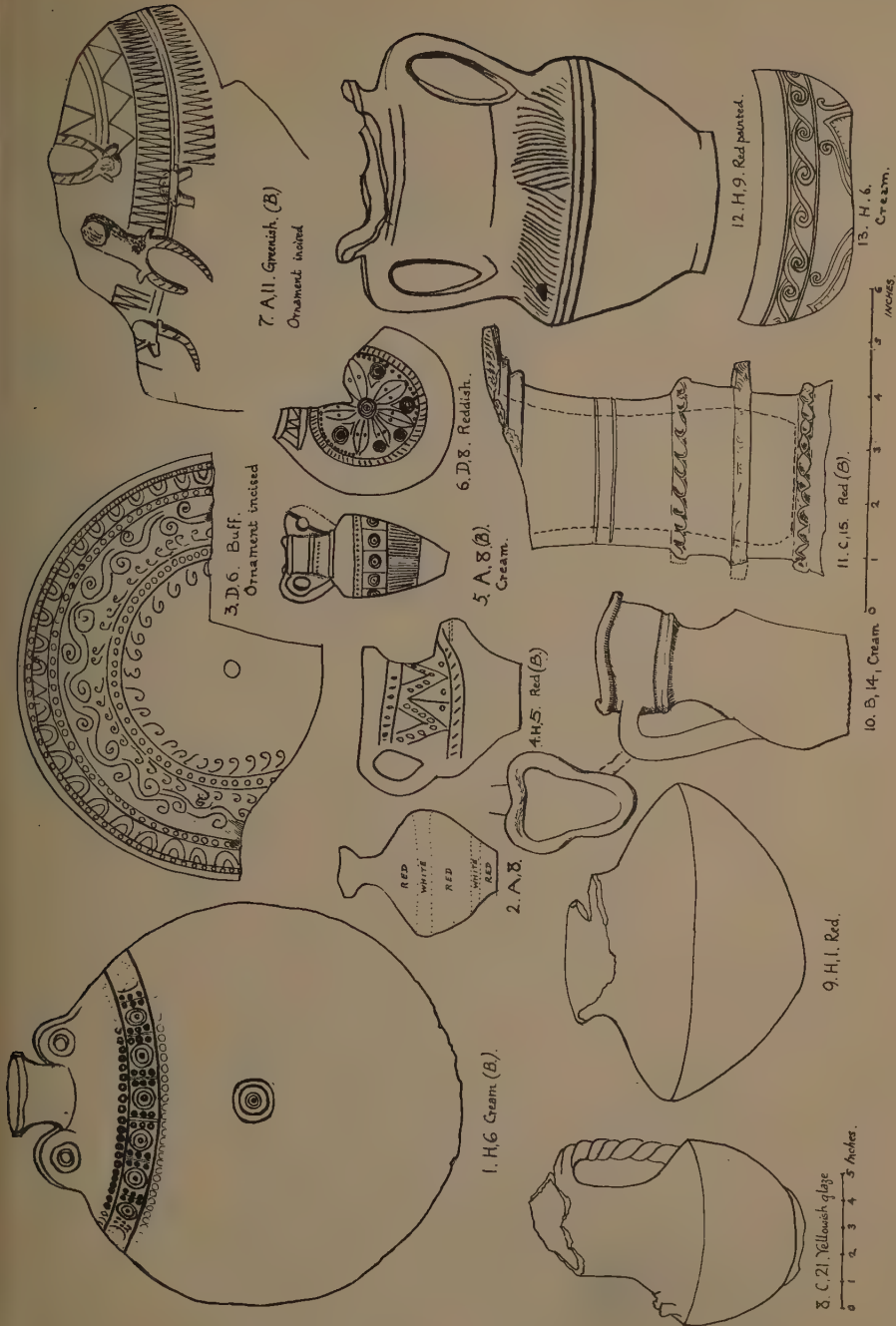




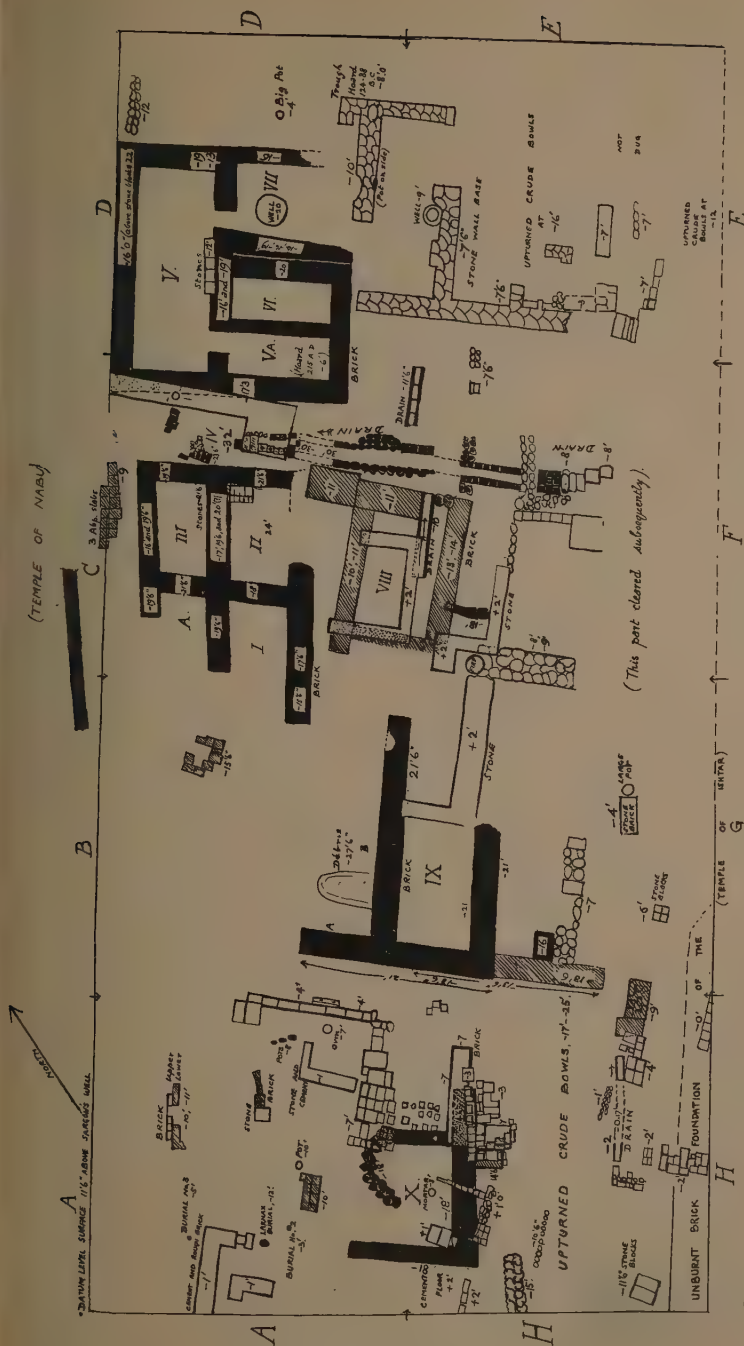










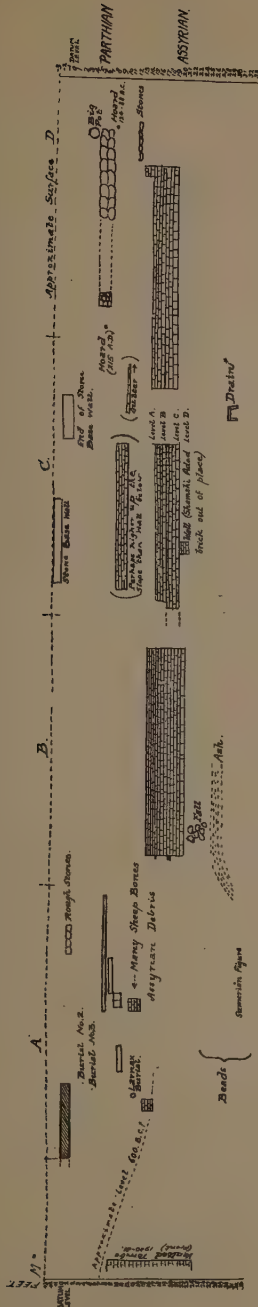


PLAN OF THE AREA EXCAVATED IN 1929-30: THE SITE OF THE PALACE OF ASHURNASIRPAL IN NINEVEH.

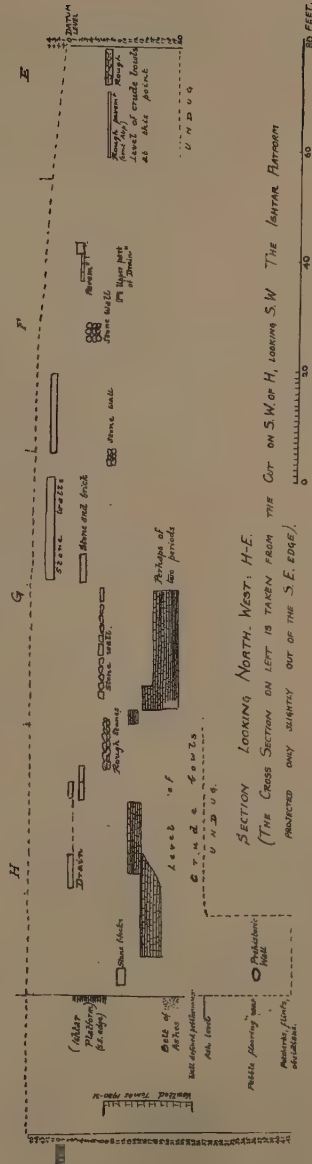
Arabic figures represent the base of walls, etc., in feet, above (+) or below (-) the datum level (the surface at the top left-hand corner). The superficial area has been divided into eight squares A-H, each 50' sq.

Walls believed to mark the old Assyrian sites, in black ; many of those restored in later periods. Walls approximately of the Parthian period, stone : Assyrian bricks 





SECTION LOOKING NORTH-WEST: A-D.



SECTION LOOKING NORTH-WEST: H-E.  
(THE CROSS SECTION ON LEFT IS TAKEN FROM THE CUT ON S.W. OF H, LOOKING S.W. THE PARTHIAN BARROW  
INDICATED ONLY SLIGHTLY OUT OF THE S.E. EDGE.)





# EXCAVATIONS IN THE DEANERY FIELD, CHESTER, 1928

## Part II: The Finds

By J. P. DROOP AND R. NEWSTEAD

WITH PLATES XLI-LI

THE exploration of the excavated material was searching enough to ensure that the collection of small finds, such as coins, pottery, personal ornaments, metal fittings for harness, etc., should be thoroughly representative of the material objects in use during the occupation of this site. The highly successful results, however, are due in a very large measure to the interest and active part taken in the work by Mrs. Elma K. Paget, the Misses M. and E. Paige Cox and Mr. W. J. Williams, who raked over the major portion of the excavated material.

Certain pieces omitted from the account of the previous excavation in the Deanery Field <sup>1</sup> are here included.

### I. POTTERY

#### A. GENERAL

##### (a) Late first-century deposits :—

Sherds of Samian ware, both plain and decorated, occurred freely in the early deposits over the whole site ; and one fragment of form 29 was found embedded in the cement floor of room 18. The principal finds, however, came from the small pits or pockets which had been dug in the sand floors of the huts and the verandah. Two groups of pottery found in these convenient hiding-places included the Samian forms, 18, 27 and 37, and the potters' stamps OF CALVI, OF CRESTI, PATRICI, SECVN·F, and the imperfect stamp of, probably, Labio (see list, p. 117).

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1. *Liverpool Annals*, XV, 1928, pp. 3 ff.

Descriptions of the coarse-ware vessels associated with these groups are given below (pp. 121 and 124).

(b) Antonine deposits :—

The well-stratified Antonine deposits<sup>1</sup> contained a very few small bits of Samian ; on the other hand, coarse ware was fairly well represented. The deposit of this period over rooms 7 and 7A produced the Greek Provincial coin of Marcus Aurelius and the denarius of Faustina II.

(c) Late unstratified deposits :—

The late unstratified deposit which extended over the whole site was most productive of fragments of Samian ware ; more especially so was this the case on the western portion of the Centurions' quarters, both over and south of the stratum of burnt material (rooms 17 and 10). It yielded over 500 fragments, besides the fourteen potters' stamps which are recorded elsewhere in this report, most of which can be attributed to the middle and latter half of the second century. These finds may be divided as follows :—

Late first-century types :—

Form 29. One small bit with godroon ornament.

Form 37. Seven fragments showing transitional decoration with S-shaped ornament, straight wreaths, including Walters' No. 30, and Atkinson's No. 50 from Pompeii.

Second-century types :—

153 fragments, divided as follows :—Panels or metopes (12), large winding scrolls and medallions (35), free style (25), etc., chiefly Antonine. There is also one piece showing rouletted technique, just below the rim.

Form 30. Three vessels represented : One in the style of Oswald and Pryce, X, fig. 7 ; with triton in large medallion (Déch. 16), and eagle (Déch. 987). A second example is decorated in metopes, with Pan (Déch. 416), etc., similar to Oswald and Pryce, XVI, fig. 2, by Mercator, who is given as a Domitian-Antonine potter.

Form 18/31 (O. and P.). About 260 dishes of this type were represented ; but the majority belong to the late form 31.

Form 27. Of this there were but 23 pieces.

Form 33. Mostly rather small ; 53 pieces.

Form 38. Mortaria class. Oswald and Pryce, LXXII. About twelve vessels represented, mostly of the large form.

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1. Cf. this volume of the *Liverpool Annals*, p. 7.

Form 45. Mortarium with an *appliqué* lion-faced spout. Eight vessels represented, but these were fragments, from the body and collar-like rim of the vessels. One spout (fig. 1) was found in a mixed deposit at the S.



Fig. 1. Scale 1:1.

end of the E. barrack block during the earlier excavations; this is of exceptional technique and design.

#### B. DECORATED SAMIAN: STAMPS, ETC.

##### Plate XLI

1. CINNA/. On 37. = CINNAM1. Reading vertically upwards in the decoration.

Part of large medallion enclosing lower portion of the figure of Victory (Déch. 474); lower spandrel r. with a large ring; astragalus below. Panel divided by bead-rows, enclosing the potter's stamp, on either side of which is the edge of a deeply serrated pinnate leaf; below, a large cable ring enclosing a rosette.

2. /M1. On 37. Terminal portion of same stamp as above, and placed similarly in the decoration. Both examples from a deposit which was chiefly Antonine, over room 16. Cinnamus was a potter of Lezoux, whose period of greatest activity was about the middle of the second century.

For site dating, cf. Bushe-Fox, *Wroxeter Report*, 1912, p. 42, and Oswald and Pryce, p. 109.

3.  $\widehat{\text{P}}\widehat{\text{A}}\widehat{\text{T}}\widehat{\text{E}}\widehat{\text{R}}\widehat{\text{N}}\widehat{\text{I}}$  or  $\widehat{\text{P}}\widehat{\text{A}}\widehat{\text{T}}\widehat{\text{E}}\widehat{\text{R}}\widehat{\text{N}}\widehat{\text{F}}\widehat{\text{E}}$ . On 37. Retrograde and horizontal in the free-style decoration.

Bead-row above; dog chasing hare; both *motifs* imperfect; below, part of lioness (?) to l.

The wares of Paternus have been dated chiefly to the middle and latter half of the second century.

For site dating, cf. Bushe-Fox, *Richborough Report*, 1926, p. 58.

4. Fragment of form 37.

Small bead-row below the ovolo, the latter relatively short and broadly rounded; tongue with the tip bilaterally dilated and somewhat T-shaped. Part of large medallion enclosing upper portion of triton brandishing oar with both hands over r. shoulder (Déch. 16). Small ring in spandrels.

From the interior of the drain leading from the NW. corner of room 13.

5. CR (retrograde). On 37. In plain band between foot-ring and decoration. Glaze and technique good. Decoration, a continuous winding scroll, of which the lower portions of six lobes are preserved; each lobe with a single large leaf, of two types, alternating, the stalks of which are curved and attached to the scroll by astragalus bindings. The leaves in the lower lobes are much more finely serrated than those in the upper lobes. Spandrels below with bird to l. and r. respectively, and both are looking back. Lower spandrel r. with part of large ring. Upper spandrel r. with large ring and above it part of bird to l., possibly a repeat of the one below.

In a deposit chiefly Antonine, over rooms 16 and 17. With it was part of another stamp by the same potter, unfortunately cut off by the foot-ring.

The style is generally characteristic of the work of Central Gaulish wares of the Antonine period. For fragments of bowls with a similar type of decoration, cf. Curle, *Fort of Newstead*, p. 222, No. 8, Fig. 4. May's illustration (*Silchester*, XXIX, No. 129) seems, however, to be an exact parallel to ours, though it is attributed to the potter Reginus.

The stamp has occurred at Wroxeter (*Report*, 1914, p. 40); and Bushe-Fox (*l.c.* p. 41) figures a bowl by the same potter from Maldon, in the Colchester Museum. Both examples with free-style decoration. At Chester it has hitherto occurred three times (cf. Hayter's *List*, pp. 10, 12). So that there are now five records of this stamp from Chester.

Dr. Felix Oswald, to whom this example was submitted, writes as


follows:—‘I find that the more serrated narrower one-leaf is used by Paternus, and occurs on a 37 at Amiens and on a 37 at Rouen, both with the retrograde PATTERN FE stamp. It is also found on a 37 at York of Doeccus of Lezoux with large DD monogram.

‘I think that this CR stamp must be identified with Criciro, who uses exactly the same bird (37 at London Museum), but hitherto the CR has only been found on 37’s with free-style decoration. I think it could be called Hadrianic, about 130, but it seems to me a little later than the free styles of CR.’

6. Form 37. Diameter .22 m. Ovolo with tongue ending in a large blurred knob; but there are vestiges of two or three prongs in a few instances. Decoration in metopes divided by wavy lines tied at the corners with rosettes. (1) Divided; above, Eros to l. (not in Déch.); below, the whole space filled with arrowheads. (2) Cruciform ornament repeated thrice. (3) Divided; above, bull to r. wearing girdle (Déch. 637, and 897, Motans, by Germanus); and above the animal three small figures (? gladiators) placed horizontally; below, lizard to r., the spaces at both lower corners filled with arrowheads. (4) Divided; above, Victory to l. holding wreath and palm branch; below, swan to l.; left lower portion filled with small *motifs* suggesting plants. (5) as in (2). (6) Bull to l. charging bestiarius holding spear with very long blade; over the bull, in the right upper portion, three small figures as in (3); left upper spandrel with tendril ending in heart-shaped leaf, and a little in advance of this a trilobed leaf turned towards the face of the bestiarius; lower portion of panel packed with bilobed leaves of two kinds.

All the panels with the exception of those with cruciform ornament are repeated once, on the opposite side of the bowl; but the swan *motif* is reversed. This somewhat remarkable bowl forms part of the late first-century group found in the floor of room 6A with the stamps CRESTI, SECVN, and PATRICI.

#### C. POTTERS' STAMPS ON PLAIN SAMIAN

1.  OF CALVI. On 15, the plate with quarter-round fillet. Group 2; lower sand floor of verandah (Pl. XLII, Fig. 8a). Late first century.

2. OF CALV/. On 18 (large). Unstratified deposit, north end of block B.



3. /ALVI. On 18 (large). Part of Calvus. Upper floor, room 9. Late first century.

Calvus is given as a potter of La Graufesenque. Cf. Hayter's 'Chester Stamps' (*Jour. Chester Arch. Soc.*, XXVI); and for site dating, Bushe-Fox, *Richborough*, 1926.

4. OF CRESTI (retrograde). On 18 (large). Within an inner small plain and an outer large rouletted ring. Underneath is the graffito, Lucius (Fig. 2). Group 3; upper floor of room 6A. Late first century.

For site dating, cf. Bushe-Fox, *Richborough*, 1926, p. 67.



Fig. 2.

5. COS////VI. On 18. Good dark glaze. This may be a blurred example of Cosi Rufin(i). Cf. Walters, M. 997. Room 15, passage. Unstratified.

6. GAI·M. On 33. Convex base, dull glaze. Upper unstratified deposit, chiefly Antonine; room 11. This stamp has occurred at Wroxeter and elsewhere. Cf. Bushe-Fox, *Wroxeter*, 1914, p. 46.

7. GEMINI M. On 33, with flat base. Upper unstratified deposit. Geminus has occurred at Wroxeter on 31, and Bushe-Fox (*Report*, 1912, p. 52) states that he is probably a first-century potter.

8. /ABIO. On 27. Possibly part of LABIO. Underneath is part of a graffito X. Group 2; lower sand floor of verandah. Late first century. Oswald and Pryce (*Terra Sig.*, p. 49) places LABIO with the pre-Flavian potters. But as our stamp was found in association with that of Calvus (No. 1) it must be regarded as a survival.

9. MACRINVS. On 18/31. High cone, good glaze. Upper unstratified deposit, chiefly Antonine; E. side of block B. Given as a potter of Lezoux who worked about 140-160 A.D. Cf. Bushe-Fox, *Richborough Report*, 1926, p. 72; and Hayter's *Chester List*, p. 20.

10. MAXMIM (or MA). On 33. Very low convex base and good glaze. Upper unstratified deposit, chiefly Antonine.

The stamp of Maximinus from London figured by Walters, M. 2134, is an exact parallel to ours. For other records, cf. Bushe-Fox, *Wroxeter*, 1914, p. 49.



11.  OF PATRC. On 18 or 18/31. Low cone, good glaze. Upper unstratified deposit. Rooms 15, 16.
12.  PATRICI. On 18 (small), within large concentric ring. Base very slightly convex. Underneath, within the foot-ring, is the



Fig. 3.

graffito (Fig. 3). Group 3, upper floor, room 6A. Late first century.



13.  PATRIC. On 27. Underneath is the graffito (Fig. 4). Upper sand floor, room 10. Late first century. For the stamps of the La Graufesenque potter, cf. Bushe-Fox, *Richborough*, 1926, p. 74.



Fig. 4.

14.  PATRICI/. Form doubtful, but the foot-ring suggests a mortarium type as in Oswald and Pryce, LXXI, 18. Upper unstratified deposit, chiefly Antonine, over rooms 15, 16.

This seems to be part of the stamp PA·T·RI·CI·MA, recorded from London by Walters, M. 923. Although of the same name as the three preceding, this potter seems to have worked at a much later period. Cf. Bushe-Fox, *Richborough*, 1926, p. 74.

15. SECVN·F. On 18 (small), within a large concentric ring. Group 3, upper floor, room 6A. Late first century.

For various forms of stamps used by Secundus, cf. May, *Carlisle*, p. 79; Walters, *Cat.* (SECVN·F., M. 730), p. 167; and Bushe-Fox, *Richborough*, 1926, p. 78.

16. SILVANI·M (or M̄A). On 18/31. High cone, within small ring and large rouletted ring. Rooms 15 and 16. Below the burnt layer.

Oswald and Pryce (p. 85) place Silvanus with the La Graufesenque potters of the Claudius-Domitian period.

17. SILV/. This is uncertain. On 33, low convex base. Rooms 15 and 16. In upper unstratified deposit, chiefly Antonine.

18. SVOBNI·M. On 35 (small). With No. 10, and probably also Antonine.

The last letter though badly blurred seems to be either M or MĀ. The rest are perfectly clear.

Similar stamps are recorded from the Fort of Newstead (Curle, No. 98, p. 241), there dated as probably Antonine. Recorded from London (Walters, M. 2178); Silchester (May, p. 263); Cirencester and Camelon. Cf. *C.I.L.*, VII, 1336, 1097; XIII., 10010, 1856.

#### *Fragmentary and uncertain*

19. CA/. On 18/31 (large). High cone; good glaze. Large concentric ring.

20. CAJ. Similar. Within a large hatched ring.

21. CNV/. On 33. Flat base.

22. ILV/. On 33 (small).

23. VV/ or /ΛΛ.

All the above from the Antonine deposit, over rooms 15, 16.

24. /ATĪ. On 18/31 or 31. Within rouletted ring.

25. /ICVS. Similar. Within large plain ring. High cone. The lettering is of a distinctly rustic type, the strokes ending above in small dots.

26. /TOSȲ. On 33 (small). Good glaze, and almost flat base. A small circle intersects the stamp, and a branch with four laterals is used as a stop.

Nos. 24-26 from the upper deposit over E. wall in block B.

### D. COARSE POTTERY

#### Plate XLII

1. Bowl. Hard fumed-grey clay. Side acutely carinated. Rim horizontal, reeded. One girth groove just below the rim and two just above the angle. Foot thick, but only slightly produced. Lower sand floor, room 4A, block B, 1924.<sup>1</sup> Late first century.

2. Bowl. Coarse brick-red clay. Carination slightly blunted. Rim reeded and faintly acute. A fine angular ridge or 'step' just below the

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1. *Liverpool Annals*, XV, Pl. II.

rim, and two deep girth grooves above the angle. Foot beaded, shallow. Lower sand floor of verandah with two coins—Vespasian and Domitian, respectively. Late first century.

3. Bowl. Hard gritty orange-red clay. Side rounded. Rim horizontal, reeded. Three girth grooves. Foot missing. Verandah. Late first century.

4 *a-c*, 5 *a-b*. Rim-sections of carinated bowls, belonging to the same class of vessels as the above (see also Nos. 6 *a* and 27 below). These and also the type with a pronounced acute rim<sup>1</sup> are commonly met with in all the early deposits at Chester, and are strikingly characteristic of the early period of the Roman occupation.

4 *a*. Very hard fumed-grey clay. Rim horizontal, fluted. In pocket of refuse, lower sand floor, room No. 2. Cf. *Liverpool Annals*, *loc. cit.*

4 *b*. Hard fumed-grey ware. Rim slightly oblique, fluted and deeply undercut. Diameter inside the rim *c.* 7·5 inches.

4 *c*. Hard fumed-grey clay. Rim reeded. Girth groove at side. Lower sand floor of verandah.

5 *a*. Similar to 4 *c*, but the rim more oblique. Under cement floor, room No. 3. Cf. *Liverpool Annals*, *loc. cit.*

5 *b*. Fumed-grey clay. Rim deeply grooved, stumpy. In pocket of refuse, upper sand floor of room No. 2, with a coin of Nerva.

5 *c*. Fine, hard brick-red clay, the core with particles of quartz. Rim reeded, slightly acute, and strongly projecting inwards. A deep girth groove at the side. Diameter of rim inside, 7·1 inches. This, though much larger, clearly belongs to the form represented below (No. 12 *a*), and also to that represented in No. 3 on Pl. XIII of Vol. XV of these *Annals*. In pocket of refuse, sand floor, room 4A, with a rim fragment of Dragendorff, Form 29, etc. Late first century.

6 *a-15 a*. Group from the lower sand floor of the verandah opposite rooms 7, 7A. Seventeen coarse-ware vessels are represented in this group, seven of which have admitted of complete reconstruction, and among the fragments there are two bits of 'rustic' cooking pots. Two plain Samian vessels were associated with the above—a dish with quarter-round fillet stamped OF CALVI, and fragments of a cup of Form 27 bearing part of the potter's stamp, possibly that of Labio (see above). Other material finds belonging to this group are four bits of blue-glass vessels, including

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1. Grimes, *Holt*, No. 87.

part of a reeded handle; three fragments of sheet bronze; iron nails; several lumps of very badly corroded chain armour; the imperfect dagger of iron (Pl. XLVIII, 87); and many meat bones of the ox, pig and domestic fowl.

The pocket in which these relics occurred was rather more extensive than those found elsewhere on this site, and may represent more than one deposit of refuse. But the stratification was very clearly defined and the deposition of the relics clearly contemporary with the period during which the floor was used: *i.e.* at the beginning of the Roman occupation of the site, possibly in the early reign of Domitian.

6 *a.* Bowl. Hard, light red clay. Flange plain, horizontal; foot-ring angular.

The section inset (from the same pocket) belongs apparently to a similar class of vessel. Its rim, however, is suggestive of the pie-dish type so commonly met with in Antonine and later deposits. A similar type of rim occurred also in the upper cement floor of room 7. Both examples were in light brick-red clay.

7 *a.* Shallow dish, imitation of form 18. Fine, hard slaty-grey clay with a deep groove below the moulded rim.

8 *a.* Samian dish, form 15, with quarter-round fillet, stamped OF CALVI (see list, p. 117).

9 *a.* Base of large cooking-pot or stone jar. Fine, pale brick-red clay. Foot-ring shallow, the outer edge chamfered. Base of interior with well-marked spiral flutings.

Bases of cooking-pots or the like from the earlier deposits on this site are often of this type, *i.e.* with a chamfered edge to the foot of the vessel. The chamfering, however, seems to have been done by hand, after the removal of the vessel from the potter's wheel, as evidenced by the somewhat irregular nature of the work.

10 *a.* Neck of store jar. Hard red clay, coated with cream-buff slip.

11 *a.* Cooking-pot. Hard fumed-grey clay. Rim beaded; high collar-like neck, and a girth groove above the shoulder. Foot-ring small, angular.

The sections inset (from the same pocket) are those of rim fragments of similar vessels—both types are commonly met with in early deposits on this site.

12 *a.* Small bowl or cup. Hard fumed-grey clay. Rim fluted and curving inwards as in No. 5 *c.* Foot-ring shallow, and partly cut away

on one side on its removal from the potter's wheel. A similar example is figured in these *Annals* (Vol. XV, Pl. XIII, No. 3).

13 *a*. Base of small beaker. Hard, slightly micaceous, slaty-grey clay, core brick-red. Under surface of foot with *concentric* striae, clearly the result of trimming on the potter's wheel—an unusual feature on vessels of this kind. But see also No. 16.

14 *a*. Vessel shaped somewhat like a modern egg-cup, with the sides very strongly fluted. Fine, hard, light red clay with widely scattered fragments of white shells or the like. No parallel for this small vessel has been found. Its use is doubtful, but it may have served either as a child's toy or as a cover for a small vessel.

15 *a*. Two-handled flagon with bulbous body. Fine, hard fumed-grey ware. Handles two-ribbed. Neck with a deep girth groove. Foot-ring shallow, the outer edge chamfered.

#### EGG-SHELL WARE

16, 17. Examples of this fine ware have occurred very sparingly over the whole site in the Deanery Field and also elsewhere in Chester. It is always found in early deposits and generally in a very fragmentary condition. Grimes (*Holt*, p. 163) has shown that its presence in large quantities of fragments is an indication that this fine ware was manufactured at Holt, Denbighshire.

16. Cup with carinated sides; beaded rim, and cordon at the angle. The foot-ring here illustrated may belong to another vessel of a similar type; it is skilfully executed, and the under surface bears concentric rings and striae.

Sand floor, room 11. Late first century.

17. Fragment of small hemispherical cup, with shallow beaded rim and rouletted pattern at the side. This example has an unusually thick wall.

#### Plate XLIII

18. Shallow dish, imitation of form 18. Fine, pale orange-red clay; sides slightly burnished. Variants of this class of vessel occur in all the early deposits.

Verandah, block B. Late first century.

19. Dish with well-turned foot-ring. Fine dusky-pink clay; mica-coated both inside and out. The broad rim with a central moulding



slashed to represent a cable pattern. Part from the upper floor of room 7A, and part also from the cobbled road 8 on plan (Part I, Pl. VI). The two deposits therefore synchronise, confirming the impression left by a comparison of the levels of floor and road. Cf. Part I, p. 12. Late first century.

20. Ring-necked flagon. Pale red clay with creamy-white slip. A fairly common type in early deposits. For Holt types, cf. Grimes, *Holt*, p. 155. Late first century.

21. Store jar. Hard fumed-grey clay. Upper edge of rim slightly chamfered. Two very deep girth grooves at shoulder. In the metalling of the road (8 on plan). Late first century.

22. Beaker of globular form. Very finely elutriated, pale grey clay, freely charged with mica; the whole of the exterior as well as a portion of the interior of the neck very smooth indeed, but unpolished. Rim slightly rounded off. Collar with a line of demarcation at its union with the shoulder. Body with a well-defined cordon and below it a broad zone of rouletted pattern; this, however, is very faintly impressed and the individual impressions oval in shape. From the disturbed layer over the footings of the E. wall to the Centurions' quarters.

Date doubtful, but possibly late first or early second century.

23. Beaker. Fine pinkish-red clay, but darker inside than out, and heavily coated with mica. Walls thin, fluted vertically; between the flutings near the shoulder is a finger-like depression. Rim oblique, and below it a reeded band of fine angular ribs. Upper floor of room 9. Late first-century deposit.

For examples of these indented beakers, cf. Bushe-Fox (*Wroxeter*, 1913, No. 5) and Grimes (*Holt*, p. 167). Our example is almost certainly a Holt fabric, but the type is somewhat rare.

#### Plate XLIV

24. Cooking-pot. Fine hard grey clay. Rim angular; foot out-curved, underside with concoidal striae.

This vessel, a type common in early deposits at Chester, occurred in a pocket of refuse in the sand floor of room 6A. With it there were also the large Samian bowl (form 37, Pl. XLI, No. 6), and three dishes or platters (form 18) with the stamps of the potters, *Patricus*, *Secundus* and *Crestus* (see list, p. 117). Though badly broken, three of them admitted of complete restoration. The pit also contained some bits of the Samian forms 15

and 27; a pot lid, bits of a blue-glass beaker, a portion of a bronze skillet; a section of a large leaden water-pipe, the oval bore of which measured  $3.5 \times 2.10$  inches; a mason's trowel (Pl. XLIX, 109); the iron hub-lining for a wheel; scraps and trimmings of lead, and bones of the ox and pig. A skull of the last named had been cut with a saw, into two equal parts, along the line of the median suture.

25. Cooking-pot. Rather soft reddish-buff clay but grey on the exterior. Rim oblique, and a deep girth groove just above the shoulder. Lower sand floor, room 10.

This type, in various sizes, is common in the early deposits here and elsewhere in Chester. Like the preceding (No. 24), this is a Holt fabric.

26. Bowl, imitation form 29. Hard, pale ferruginous clay coated with grey slip. Rim heavily moulded and a groove at the obtusely-angled side. Low level, close up to the footings of the E. wall of the officers' quarters. Late first century. A similar form has occurred at Wroxeter (Bushe-Fox, 1912, p. 70, No. 7), and is there dated 80-110 A.D. There is also an example in the Holt collection (Grimes, p. 161, No. 156) which is an almost exact replica. This form is rare at Chester; no other example has been recorded hitherto.

27. Bowl. Buff-red clay, fumed-grey outside. Rim slightly acute, reeded. Two deep girth grooves at the side, well above the carination. Used in the metalling of the cobbled road (8 on plan). Late first century. For other bowls of this class, see Nos. 1-6, p. 120.

28. Fragments of hemispherical bowl. Buff-pink clay dusted with mica. Two deep grooves close under rim. Lower floor, room 11. Late first century.

29. Bowl of similar form. Pale red clay. Side decorated with blobs of white slip. Found with No. 28 in late first-century deposit.

30. Bowl. Fine buff clay. Wall divided by a heavy, flat bead. Found in association with the preceding.

31. Bowl, imitation of Form 37. Finely elutriated clay. Wall divided by a small bead. Found in the lower floor of room 2A, in 1924. Late first century.

This and also the preceding are but slight variants of the type described by Grimes (*Holt*, p. 172, No. 226), in which he says 'the wall is divided by heavy flat beads into zones as on the Samian vessel, the upper "plain zone" of the original having an angular profile which is one of the characteristic features of the group.' He also states that 'the form is not

recorded from Chester.' But three vessels of this class, two of them coated with mica, are recorded from the Infirmary Field.<sup>1</sup>

32-38. *Tazzas*. Portions of twenty examples of this class of vessels were found.<sup>2</sup> They occurred in the upper deposits on various parts of the site, chiefly in association with other finds which could be attributed to the latter half of the second and the beginning of the third centuries, at which period they seem to have been in general use. So far none has occurred in the early stratified deposits. Many of the examples show smoky patches on the interior, caused by the action of fire subsequent to baking in the kiln.

32. Very hard pale red clay, with creamy-white slip. Upper edge of rim frilled; the impressions seem to have been made with a blunt tool. This example is characterised by the very deep emargination below the rim.

33. Pale brick-red clay, slip pinkish-buff. Rim concave above; both ridges or angles incised.

34. Coarse brick-red clay heavily charged with mica. Rim rather strongly produced, concave above the outer edge with widely separated notches.

35. Pale brick-red clay, slip creamy-white. Side strongly carinated; foot-ring thick and somewhat angular. The carination 'frilled' with widely separated finger-tip impressions.

36. Clay similar to preceding; slip cream-buff. Rim plain, and flat at the top, with very faint finger-tip impressions along the outer edge.

37. Clay and slip as in 35. Edge of rim and side strongly 'frilled' with finger-tip impressions. Pedestal foot hollow. The technique of this vessel is exceptionally good.

38. Clay and slip as in 35. Rim angular, the outer edge with finger-tip impressions.

#### Plate XLV

39 b-42 b. This interesting group of vessels, all badly broken and otherwise imperfect, were found together in a small refuse pit in the late Antonine deposit over rooms 17 and 10. The penannular brooch and the braided chain (Misc. Finds, Nos. 8 and 64) belong also to the same group.

39 b. Pot lid of fumed-grey ware. This is a heavy, clumsily made example.

1. *Liverpool Annals*, VIII, p. 57, Pl. VIII, figs. 2, 3.

2. For other examples of this ware, found in Chester, cf. *Chester Journal*, XXVI, p. 72.

40 *b*. Flanged bowl. Soft, dark smoky-red clay, coated outside with dark-grey slip. Flange wide; rim shallow and beaded. Foot-ring shallow.

41 *b*. Jug or flagon with a two-ribbed handle. Fine, hard, orange-red clay. Girth groove in line with the lower attachment of the handle. Base flat. A single-handled flagon of similar form is recorded from Holt, but is said to have a cylindrical body. Cf. Grimes, *Holt*, p. 158, No. 123.

42 *b*. Flanged dish with lattice pattern at side and an irregular scribble on the under surface of the base. Grey-black clay polished or burnished. This class of vessel was exceedingly common in the upper unstratified deposits over the whole site. 159 examples were represented, of which six exhibited the scribble pattern on the under side of the base.

43. Flanged dish with tall rim. Grey-black clay heavily charged with particles of white grit or the like. A late form of the third or fourth centuries. No other example containing white grit seems to have been found at Chester, otherwise the form is common.

44. Cooking-pot. Grey-black clay slightly polished or burnished. Roughly executed zone of lattice pattern at the side.

Late Antonine deposit over room 6A, with a coin of Faustina II, and one also of Marcus Aurelius.

45. Similar in form and technique to No. 44; differing only in having a wavy line scrawled under the rim.

Common in the late Antonine deposits and elsewhere over the whole site. Portions of 23 examples of this type and its variants, and of 113 of No. 44, were found.

46. Cooking-pot. Hard fumed-grey ware, burnished above and below the carelessly executed band of lattice pattern.

From an unstratified deposit. The form, however, is suggestive of early second-century work.

47-49. Rhenish-ware beakers. In all of them the clay is of a pale red colour, coated with a highly metallic bronze-like glaze. The fabric seems to be of German origin. The general technique is excellent.

47. Fragments from the upper portion of the vessel. Rim oblique, with angular beaded collar below. Side with part of mask in applied relief, below it part of a rouletted band.

There is a similar type of beaker in the York Museum, decorated alternately with a mask of Pan and a pine-cone. Cf. May, *York*, p. 45, Pl. IV, Fig. 3.

From the late Antonine deposit; over the footings of room 6A.

48. Basal portion of beaker, with hollow pedestal foot. The decoration consists of a broad band of rouletting divided by a girth groove.

49. Base of vessel with projecting foot. This and No. 48 from unstratified deposit.

Second to third centuries. Cf. Bushe-Fox, *Richborough*, p. 89, No. 134.

#### E. STAMP ON AMPHORA



Stamped downwards on upper surface of handle.

? S.CALENSIA.GÊMÊ.

Under the upper cement

floor of room 16. Late first century.

#### F. LEGIONARY STAMPS

Three incomplete examples on roofing tiles were found. One of them is an impression from the same matrix as that illustrated in the second report on the excavations,<sup>1</sup> and may be dated to the closing years of the second or to the third century. In a late deposit, chiefly Antonine.

## II. COINS

In the summary here appended are given all the coins found on this site since the beginning of the excavations in 1923. The number of finds between the years 1923-26 amounted in all to 82 pieces, a fairly good record considering the comparatively small area which was explored. On the other hand, our coin-finds in 1928 were very few—eighteen in all, a remarkable fact considering the extent of the excavations. The condition of the coins, on the whole, is quite good; and many of the first-century pieces from the sand floors of the barracks are in an exceptionally fine state.

No more examples of the presumably locally minted *denarii* of Severus have occurred since the publication of the first report.<sup>2</sup> The most noteworthy only of our recent finds are here described. These include the Provincial Greek piece of Marcus Aurelius (No. 1); and the *denarius* of L. Papius Celsus (No. 3), the reverse type of which is an interesting illustration of the legend connected with the founding of the City of Lavinium. Of the Roman Imperial series that of Gratian may almost certainly be considered as the latest authentic issue hitherto found at Chester. The two later coins, now preserved in the Grosvenor Museum, are a Theodosius I and an Arcadius (*Cat. of the Roman Coins, Chester Mus.*, 1923).

1. *Liverpool Annals*, XV, p. 31, Fig. 5 b.

2. *Ib.*, XI, p. 64.



But no importance can be attached to these issues, as they, like many other Roman coins in the 'old collection,' are entirely without record, and for site dating are worthless.

Mr. H. Mattingly of the British Museum has very kindly determined all the doubtful specimens, and also verified a number of our own determinations.

## COINS : SUMMARY (1923-28)

	AR	Æ
GREEK (Provincial), Marcus Aurelius (161-180 A.D.) . .	..	1
ROMAN (Republic), <i>cir.</i> B.C. 200-46 . . . .	3	..
ROMAN (Imperial) :—		
Nero (54-68 A.D.) . . . . .	..	6
Vespasian (69-79 A.D.) . . . . .	3	8
Domitian (81-96 A.D.) . . . . .	..	7
Nerva (96-98 A.D.) . . . . .	1	3
Trajan (98-117 A.D.) . . . . .	1	2
Hadrian (117-138 A.D.) . . . . .	1	4
Antoninus Pius (138-161 A.D.) . . . . .	..	7
Faustina, Senior (d. 141 A.D.) . . . . .	1	1
Faustina, Jun. (141-175 A.D.) . . . . .	3	..
Commodus (180-192 A.D.) . . . . .	2	..
Septimius Severus (193-211 A.D.) . . . . .	*5	..
Caracalla (212-217 A.D.) . . . . .	1	..
Claudius II, Gothicus (268-270 A.D.) . . . . .	..	3
Tetricus I (268-273 A.D.) . . . . .	..	2
Tetricus II (268-273 A.D.) . . . . .	..	2
Carausius (287-293 A.D.) . . . . .	..	6
Diocletian (284-305 A.D.) . . . . .	..	1
Constantine I, The Great (306-337 A.D.) . . . . .	..	2
Constantinopolis . . . . .	..	1
Magnentius or Decentius . . . . .	..	1
Valentinian I (365-375 A.D.) . . . . .	..	4
Valens (364-378 A.D.) . . . . .	..	5
Gratian (367-383 A.D.) . . . . .	..	1
Radiate Crowns, 3Æ ; uncertain attribution . . . . .	..	7
Illegible, 3Æ (3) ; 3Æ, Q. (1) . . . . .	..	4
Anonymous Quadrans (Tesserae) . . . . .	..	1
Total, 100=	21	79

\* One plated.



## DESCRIPTIONS

## GREEK : IMPERIAL—NICAËA

Marcus Aurelius (161-180 A.D.)

1. *Obv.* AV · K MAVP ANTΩNIN. Head of M. Aurelius, r. bare.  
*Rev.* NEIKAIEN. Infant Dionysus seated r. in cradle; both hands raised.

Cf. *B.M. Catalogue of Greek Coins*, Pontus, etc., p. 157; No. 35 of Nicaea, and Pl. XXXII, 7.

From the Antonine stratum over floor of room 7A near the denarius of Faustina II, 1928.

## ROMAN : REPUBLIC

*Appius Claudius : Titus Mallius, Quaestores Urbani*

2. *Obv.* Head of Roma r. wearing winged helmet, etc.  
*Rev.* AP·CL·T·AA·Q·V. in exergue. Victory in a triga r., holding reins with both hands; horses cantering, the leader looking back.

Grueber, *B.M. Catalogue*, Nos. 1290-1295. *Ar.*, denarius, *circ.* B.C. 90-91. Much worn and otherwise in poor condition. Upper unstratified deposit, 1924.

*Lucius Papius Celsus*

3. *Obv.* Head of Juno Sospita r., wearing goat's skin tied in front.  
*Rev.* A she-wolf r., bearing in her mouth a brand which she is about to place on a brazier; near it stands an eagle fanning the flames with its wings; in exergue L·PAPIVS; above CELSVS·III·VIR.

Grueber, *B.M. Catalogue*, Nos. 4018-4022. *Ar.*, denarius, *circ.* B.C. 46. Low level, verandah, 1924. Much worn and in poor condition.

4. *Obv.* Head of Roma r., mark of value X.  
*Rev.* Victory in a biga r.  
*Ar.*, denarius. Burnt and in bad condition; *circ.* B.C. 200. A casual find, near N. end of block B, 1928.

## ROMAN : IMPERIAL

*Gratian* (367-383 A.D.)

5. *Obv.* DN GRATIANVS AVGG AVG<sup>9</sup>. Bust diademed and draped r.

*Rev.* GLORIA NOVI SECVLI. Gratian standing facing, head turned l., holding labarum and leaning on shield. Arles mint mark :  $\frac{\text{OF}}{\text{CON.}}$ .

3Æ. In fair condition. Found with fragments of a fourth-century pot. Cf. *Liverpool Annals*, Vol. XI, p. 73.

#### ANONYMOUS QUADRANS

6. *Obv.* Winged petasus r.

*Rev.* Winged caduceus. In field, s c.

Cohen 36. M. and S. 32. Æ. Q.

In a mixed deposit, but chiefly Antonine, over footings of party wall, rooms 9 and 10, 1928. Another example of these interesting 'tesserae' was found in the Infirmary Field, at Chester, in 1912.

#### POST-ROMAN

*Charles I* (1625-1649 A.D.)

*Obv.* [C]AROLVS [D:G:MAG:BRIT]. Crown.

*Rev.* FRAN:ET HIB:REX. Crown over harp.

Farthing. In poor condition. Found near the mediaeval hearth.

#### RECKONING COUNTERS

Two pieces, both in bad condition. Found near the mediaeval hearth.

### III. MISCELLANEOUS FINDS

#### Plate XLVI

#### BROOCHES (Fibulae)

1. Bronze fibula with hinged pin ; the bow, thin and flat, is decorated with longitudinal ribs, but these are interrupted at about two-thirds of their length from the hinge by two strong transverse ridges. The distal end is imperfect, and the pin and catch-plate are wanting. Found under the cement of the upper floor of room 7. Late first century.

2. Fibula of similar form to No. 1, and obviously a variant of the Aucissa type. Bow very thin, low convex above, and decorated with a single median line which bifurcates just before reaching the flat transverse plate, which is in the form of a small panel enclosing a rope-like design. Catch-plate and pin missing. Low level of room 12. Late first-century deposit.

3. Trumpet brooch of bronze with a pronounced waist-knob, but without a loop for the attachment of a chain. Upper level of room 15, in association with Antonine pottery.

4. Of the same form as No. 3, though smaller. Upper stratum of room 12.

Bushe-Fox (*Wroxeter*, 1912, p. 13) describes a brooch of the same kind, which he dates as 'probably . . . about or a little before the middle of the second century.'

5. Fibula of bronze, with solid catch-plate, semi-cylindrical cover, and small loop for the chord at the head. In an unstratified deposit over the floor of the verandah.

A similar type is recorded from Wroxeter (*Report*, 1912), and there dated between 80 and 120 A.D.

6. Fibula of bronze. Bow with solid cast head-loop and hinged spring. Bow decorated with green and red enamel, now almost obliterated by corrosion. Antonine deposit, room 18.

7. Penannular fibula of iron, with rounded terminals. North end of block B, at a low level, and probably of late first-century origin.

8. Penannular fibula of bronze, in excellent preservation. With Antonine pottery. Passage in officers' quarters.

9. Part of penannular brooch of bronze; the terminals with writhen knobs. Casual find.

#### FINGER-RINGS, STUDS, ETC.

10. Finger-ring of bronze; the bezel set with sard stone, crudely engraved with male figure carrying stout stick or staff in his right hand. Antonine deposit, room 11.

11. Plain finger-ring of bronze, with the bezel slightly ridged. Same deposit as No. 10.

12. Large finger-ring of iron, with bezel. This example is so badly corroded that its original form is almost destroyed. With late first-century group of pottery (Nos. 7 a-15 a, p. 122) from the lower sand floor of the verandah.

13. Finger-ring of bronze, with flat bezel for holding gem. Unstratified deposit, room 18.

14-16. Plain rings of bronze. All from undated deposits, Centurions' quarters.

17. Strip of bronze bent into the form of a ring. This has a bead-like decoration on its outer surface. Room 18, in undated deposit.

18. Bronze stud with tang for attachment. Casual find.
19. Stud of similar form, with long pointed tang. Antonine deposit, room 16.
20. Dress-fastener or the like. Decorated with punctured lines forming four equal divisions, each enclosing a somewhat triangular band of polished tin. Antonine deposit, room 16.
21. Stud of bronze, with half-round fillet and central boss. Antonine deposit, room 15.
22. Large flat-headed stud of bronze, with eyelet to the tang. Casual find.
23. Similar in form to No. 22. Casual find.
24. Stud of bronze, with concentric ring enclosing laureated head of female to right and phallic charm. In the upper unstratified deposit; with Antonine sherds; over the cobbled road, 8.
25. Stud of bronze for attachment to leather or the like. Antonine deposit, room 18.
26. Enamelled stud of bronze; the alternating triangles of blue and red. Antonine deposit, room 16.
- 27, 28. Studs of thin bronze. Upper and under surface, respectively. Both casual finds.
29. Phalera or stud, decorated with concentric lines. Antonine deposit, room 16.
- 30 (*bis*). Hobnails of iron. A number of these were found on the surface of the lower floor of the main central passage in the Centurions' quarters. Late first-century deposit.
- 31-35. Belt mountings of bronze. The four decorated examples came from unstratified deposits, north end of block B; the fifth (No. 33) from the verandah. A useful parallel to the decorated forms is illustrated in the Neuss report.<sup>1</sup>
- 36, 37. Small strongly made rings of bronze, used it may be as collars for holding bolts to metal plates. Found together in room 9.
38. Part of phallic charm of bronze.<sup>2</sup> Casual find, E. end of block.
39. Buckle attachment of bronze; the upper portion of the design consisting of two dolphins entwined. Antonine deposit, E. end of block.

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1. *Bon. Jahr.*, 111, 112, Pl. XXXA, fig. 37.

2. *Cf. ib., loc. cit.*, Pl. XXXIV, fig. 49.

## Plate XLVII

## BUCKLES OF BRONZE

40-42, 46. Buckles of bronze. These seem to have been used for attachment to girdles or harness. No. 40 is also recorded from Neuss,<sup>1</sup> and No. 42 from Newstead.<sup>2</sup>

43. In this example the hinged portion is attached to a broad strip of bronze with a rivet for attachment.

44. The upper surface of this is enamelled in sulphur-yellow with specks of dark brown or black. The terminals above the hinge are crude representations of dolphins' heads.

45. Enamelled like No. 44. The cross-bar is deeply and strongly serrated.

46. (See above, No. 40.)

47. This buckle is in the form of a dolphin; it is an example of fine technique and design. Late first century. Lower floor of room 7A.

48, 49. Peltate forms, with large flat-headed rivets for attachment. All the above, with the exception of No. 47, are from the upper unstratified levels, at the E. end of the block of buildings.

## PENDANTS

50. Bronze. Leaf-like and pyriform in outline, with a small knob at the apex. Upper level, room 12.

51. Lead. Somewhat spear-shaped. Cross-ribbed at the base and towards the tip. Antonine deposit, over floor of room 6A.

52. Bronze. Similar to No. 50. The margins and central rib strongly punctate. Antonine deposit, room 7A.

53. Iron. This is imperfect, but it evidently belongs to the 'spear-head' class of pendants (see below). Upper level, room 11.

54-57. Bronze. These are all of the spear-head class of pendants. No. 54 is of exceptional interest in having the spring-clip still attached; this is made all in one piece, the spring being held in position by a stout pin which passes through a hole in the narrow strip of metal. Cf. *Liverpool Annals*, Vol. XV, Pl. VII, fig. 15. Upper levels, N. end of block.

## CHAINS, ETC.

58. Rivets of bronze; the upper example attached to a thin sheet of bronze, the lower one to a fragment of iron.

1. *Bon. Jahr.*, Pl. XXXA, fig. 28.

2. Curle, *A Roman Frontier Post and its People*, Pl. LXXVI, fig. 3.

59-61. Bronze mountings for scabbard of sword or dagger.

62-64. Chains of bronze. The first of these is a heavy, solid kind, with a leaden staple at either end. The slender, braided example was found in a small pit of refuse, with the penannular brooch (Misc. Finds, No. 8) and Antonine pottery. The others are from undated deposits, N. end of the block.

65, 66. Strips of waste bronze. No. 65 may have been intended for use as a handle for a casket (see Pl. L, fig. 126).

67, 68. Strips of decorated bronze. Both examples are distinctly curved, and may have been used as bracelets. No. 67 is from an unstratified deposit, the other from a late first-century stratum on the E. side of the Centurions' block.

69-71. Spindle whorls of lead. Nos. 70, 71 came from the Antonine stratum over room 7A; the other is from an undated deposit, N. end of block.

72-78. Various types of gaming pieces or counters. The first six are of bone; the others of vitreous paste in blue and white. No. 74 has an H-like graffito on one side, and No. 76 bears the numeral X, which extends over the whole field of the disc. These marked pieces seem to be unusual. The other forms have been found elsewhere in some numbers, notably at Newstead,<sup>1</sup> and at Chester.<sup>2</sup> No. 77 is from a late first-century deposit (room 7A); the others from the upper unstratified layer over rooms 13 and 18.

79, 80. Melon-shaped beads of blue frit. No. 80 is of late first-century origin (room 7A). The other a casual find.

81. A pellet of silicate of copper, of a bright pale-blue colour. Examples of this kind of material are preserved in the collection at the British Museum. Late first-century deposit; room No. 7.

#### ARMS, ARMOUR, ETC.

##### Plate XLVIII

82. Caltrop of iron. The only example found on this site. It came from the upper floor of room 14, and belongs to the late first or early second centuries.

83. Scale armour of bronze. Three examples in very thin bronze. The first, though imperfect, has a single large hole at the top and two bilateral

1. Curle, *op. cit.*, p. 338, Pl. XCIII.

2. *Liverpool Annals*, XV, Pl. VI, p. 16.



ones placed closely together at the sides. The latter have the wire-binding, used to fasten the plates together, still attached. The examples found at Newstead<sup>1</sup> are pierced in exactly the same way as ours. The second example (middle) is of a similar type to the above. The third specimen is pierced with three pairs of small holes, as in the examples found at Corbridge,<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* with one pair vertically at the top; the others a little beyond the middle on both sides. All three examples are from unstratified deposits over rooms 10, 16 and 18.

84. Examples of chain armour of iron; all badly corroded. These came from the upper layers over rooms 9 and 10. Similar pieces were also found in the lower floor of room 11, in association with late first-century pottery.

85. Pilum (?) of iron; the socket for the shaft missing. Total length, 10.5 inches. It is badly corroded, and is now thicker than it was originally. A similar example is recorded from Neuss.<sup>3</sup> Late first century. In the road-metalling, site 8 on plan.

86. Socketed spear-head of iron. Length, 9.6 inches. Antonine deposit; Centurions' quarters.

87. Dagger of iron. This is imperfect and badly corroded. About 5 inches of the blade and 1 inch of the handle are missing. Late first century. Found with Flavian pottery, lower floor of verandah. (See also coarse pottery, Nos. 7 a-15 a.)

#### NOT ILLUSTRATED

Part of an iron sheath for a dagger was found in the upper floor of room 7. Its form is very like that which was found in the earlier excavations on the site.<sup>4</sup> It differs, however, in having a bronze loop for attachment to the girdle, and the exterior has a faint submarginal groove following the contour of the sheath. Both ends are broken away. Length, 8.5 inches.

Ballista balls. Several of these were found in various parts of the site, all in late unstratified deposits. These varied in weight from 4 lbs. 4 oz. to 11 oz., and were made from the local red sandstone. Several examples were illustrated in the former report.<sup>5</sup>

1. Curle, *op. cit.*, p. 160, Pl. XXIV.

2. *Arch. Ael.*, 3rd Series, Vol. VII, p. 193, Fig. 41.

3. *Bon. Jahr.*, *loc. cit.*, p. 369, Pl. XXXIA, fig. 9.

4. *Liverpool Annals*, XV, p. 24, Pl. XII, fig. 8.

5. *Ib.*, Pl. X, fig. 4.

88-93. Bronze terminals for straps. Nos. 88-92 are from unstratified layers over the Centurions' block, and are probably late Antonine. No. 93 was found in the upper floor of room 7A, and is of late first-century origin.

94. The lateral moveable arm of a dolabra or sheath for a pioneer's axe. This is of bronze. It came from the Antonine layer over room 7A. An almost perfect example came from the Deanery Field in an earlier excavation.<sup>1</sup>

95. Hinge of bronze attached to a very thin sheet of iron. It is held in position by four studs with large hemispherical heads. Low level W. side of Centurions' block, and probably of first-century origin.

96-98. Pieces of bronze, probably portions of terminals for leather straps. Upper unstratified deposit, N. end of block.

#### LOCK FITTINGS

99-101. Lock-plates of bronze. These seem to belong to the cylindrical or barrel-shaped forms of padlocks.<sup>2</sup> The piercings for the insertion of the key differ materially in all three examples.

No. 99 is a late first-century type, found under the cement floor of room 18. The others are casual finds from the same block of buildings.

102-107. These are of bronze, and, with the possible exception of No. 106, are various forms of bolts for fastening lock-plates. In No. 107 the nipple-like boss in the centre is of iron. All the examples are from the upper unstratified deposits. N. end of the block of buildings.

#### Plate XLIX

108. Rim of iron, distorted by earth-pressure. This may have been intended for use as a hub-rim for a wheel,<sup>3</sup> but even this suggestion is hazardous. Late first century. Upper floor, room 6A.

109. Mason's trowel of iron. A portion of the tang-end is missing, otherwise the implement is in a fair state of preservation. Found with Flavian pottery together with No. 108.

110. Iron nails of various kinds. Six examples are here illustrated. The clout-headed kinds were found abundantly over the whole site and in all the deposits. On the other hand, the T-shaped and hammer-headed forms are rare.

1. *Liverpool Annals*, X, p. 81, Fig. 6.

2. Cf. *B.M. Guide to Greek and Roman Life*, p. 152, Fig. 187.

3. Curle, *op. cit.*, p. 292, Pls. LXIX and LXX.

111. Keys of iron. That on the left is a form commonly met with on Roman sites. It is fitted with three wards, and the head is pierced for suspension. Unstratified deposits, E. end of block.

112. Two knives of iron, both with tapering tangs. Undated deposits, N. end of block.

113. Knife handle of bone. The decoration in this example consists of a median line extending along the upper surface, with crudely cut lattice pattern on either side of it. Late first century. Lower floor of room 9.

114. Knife handle of bone, decorated with herring-bone pattern. N. end of block.

115. Terminal portion of a stout pin or the like cut from a deer antler. It is of uncertain use. This bears a remarkable zoomorphic design in the form of a grotesque animal head, recalling in some small measure the design on the head of the Celtic crosier of St. Berach.<sup>1</sup> Found in the upper unstratified deposit over room 16, together with Nos. 116, 117.

116. Bone pin or rimer. Casual find.

117. Gouge-like rimer of bone.

118. Bone pin, with cube-shaped head. E. side of block.

119. Dog whistle, made from the metatarsal bone of goat or sheep. The plug for the mouthpiece is missing. Antonine deposit, rooms 9-18.

#### Plate L

120. Styli or writing instruments. Seven examples were found, but three only are here illustrated. The central one is of bronze, the others of iron. One was found in the cobbled road (8 on plan) and is attributable to the late first century; the others are from late deposits on various parts of the Centurions' block.

121. Surgeons' probe of bronze. This instrument was cut in two by the workman's spade, and is here illustrated with the cut ends overlapping. The head of the instrument has a circular eyelet and the distal end dilated and bluntly pointed. Total length, 7.1 inches. Antonine deposit, room No. 18.

122. Hairpins of bone. The two perfect examples are of a kind frequently found on Romano-British sites. All from undated deposits, rooms 9, 14.

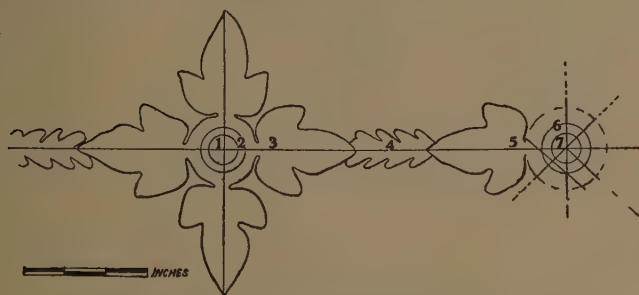
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1. *Irish Acad. Guide*, p. 61, Fig. 58. Cf. also Fig. 79.

123. Needle of bronze. Its use uncertain, but probably for netting or packing. Length, 4·6 inches. Undated deposit, room 9.

#### WALL PLASTER

124. Decorated wall plaster from the party wall of rooms 7-7A. Much of it was found more or less *in situ*, standing on edge by the footings of the wall. Three primary colours were used: blue-green, yellow and red. It would seem from the numerous fragments which were recovered that the design consisted for the most part of leaves of the oak and sycamore, arranged in straight lines. Those of the oak were skilfully executed in two or three shades of red. In places the two kinds of leaves were arranged alternately, and here and there these were united to broad concentric rings of red, green and yellow. Traces of tendrils were also observed on some small fragments—these were painted yellow. Many pieces bore unmistakable traces of the setting-out lines scored in the plaster by the legionary decorator; these are still traceable in the examples selected for illustration (Pl. L, fig. 124). In the diagram (Fig. 5) some attempt has been made



1, blue; 2, white; 3, red; 4, red; 5, blue; 6, white; 7, yellow.

Fig. 5.

to reconstruct the scheme of decoration, with the setting-out lines carefully reproduced.

Portions of plaster with a dark, red-brown border, and one bit with a marbled design, were also found on the same site.

All of the above are of late first-century origin.

A few odd fragments of wall plaster were found in the officers' quarters; one piece from the sealed-up floor in room 10, and many pieces from the Antonine deposit. One example exhibited traces of a dull red border, the rest were plain and coated with roughly-applied whitewash.

125. Portions of a large tile found together with fragments of others of the same kind. These were used to form the floor of the hearth in the lower floor of room 7A.<sup>1</sup> The tiles are broadly grooved on one side into small squares. Length, 21 inches; maximum width, 13·5 inches.

Two pieces of tiles of a similar kind were found in the course of the earlier excavations. These the late Mr. Arthur T. Acton decided to be of Holt manufacture. No such tiles are now preserved in the Holt collection at Cardiff.

126. Drop-handle of bronze with staples attached. Such objects are generally described as handles for caskets. Antonine deposit; N. block.

127, 127 a. Inscribed leaden tab for attachment to baggage or the like. This object is provided with a pyriform slot on one side at the

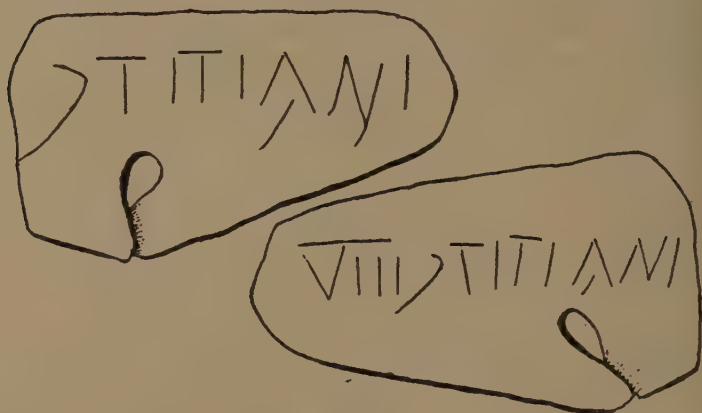


Fig. 6. Scale 1:1

broad end, and the metal has been hammered out so that the corners of the lips overlap, presumably for the purpose of securing its attachment to something in the nature of string, wire or chain. It bears an inscription in graffito on both sides (Fig. 6) which shows that it belonged to Titianus, a Centurion, the Eighth Cohort. The name of a Centurion Titianus occurs on a building stone found at Ribchester,<sup>2</sup> and it is tempting to identify him as the same officer promoted to the Eighth Cohort of the Twentieth Legion at Deva subsequent to his services at Ribchester.

1. See Part I, p. 8, above.

2. Atkinson, *Guide to the Roman Fort at Ribchester*, p. 28.

Found close to the hearth on the surface of the upper floor of room 6, in the well-defined Antonine stratum.

128. One arrowhead and two worked flakes of flint. The first-named is probably of Irish origin ; it came from the low level in the Centurions' quarters. The two small flakes were found during the earlier excavations, at the S. end of the legionary quarters.

#### GLASS

Fragments of blue glass occurred in many places over the whole site, much of it belonging to the square-sided class of vessels. Window glass was rare. The bases of two polygonal flasks, each bearing five concentric rings, were found in first-century deposits : one on the lower floor of room 11, the other in the lower floor of room 18.

The most interesting find, however, was the lower terminal portion of a handle, bearing a series of deep, transverse notches, resembling those in the example from Bexhill.<sup>1</sup> The colour is a rich, dark amber. It came from the floor of room 7A, and belongs to the late first century.

Another noteworthy find was a small piece of a pillar-moulded bowl, in clear glass, from the lower floor of room 11. Late first century.

#### BONE SPATULAE

Two spatulae of bone fashioned from the scapulae of a large mammal were found in unstratified deposits. One of them is pierced with a large hole, presumably for suspension.<sup>2</sup>

#### MILL-STONES AND HONES

Portions of two mill-stones in basalt lava from Niedermendig, and many hone-stones of various kinds, occurred in unstratified deposits.

#### LEAD

Much waste lead, generally in the form of trimmings from sheets of varying thickness, were found in many places. One exceptionally large sheet was found in the Antonine layer over the floor of room 6 ; this measured 20×16 inches ; it was pierced by nail holes in many places, and was battered about as if it had been put to some rough usage.

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1. *B.M. Guide*, Fig. 123 f.

2. For similar examples, cf. *Liverpool Annals*, XV, Pl. X, fig. 3.



## BRONZE CAULDRON

The cauldron (Fig. 7) is formed of very thin metal, the thickness varying slightly, due it may be to corrosion, but where it is more or less perfect it varies in thickness from .0005 m. to .00063 m. Form somewhat hemispherical, but bulging below the rim. The latter is more or less vertical, and slit vertically in many places throughout its circumference ; it is .006 m. wide, and bears a sharp line of demarcation from the body of

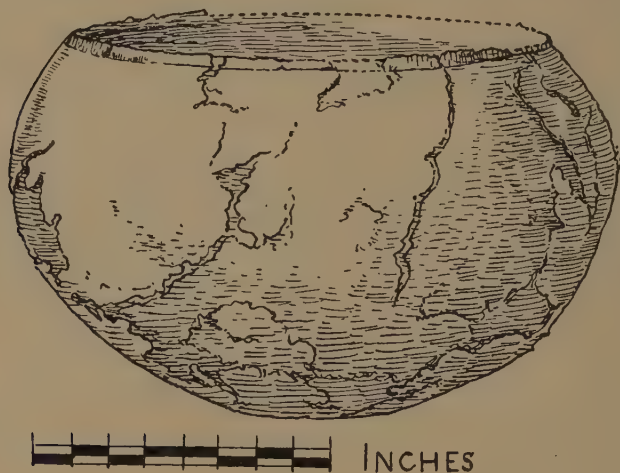


Fig. 7.

the vessel, suggesting that it had been gripped by a strong metal lip, now missing. The vessel seems to have been made in one piece of metal ; but it exhibits fourteen ancient reparations, mostly in the form of patches of very thin bronze riveted to the walls of the vessel. The two largest patches, of which one only is intact but detached, have a relatively large hole punched in them, .0067 m. in diameter, the inner edges of which are distinctly burred or jagged. The example which is preserved *in situ* has the large hole placed .063 m. below the rim, and may have been used to hold a lug for the attachment of ring-handles or the like. Seven of the other patches are more or less square or oblong ; the largest measuring .043 m.  $\times$  .045 m. Three small oblong examples have had the corners cut away (Fig. 8, *bb*), but one only of these remains *in situ*. Two other kinds of

mending have also been made. In three instances a thin sheet of metal has been folded into the form of a large but very short-tanged paper-fastener, T-shaped in section, which seems to have been pushed or driven through the hole or slit in the wall of the vessel, the two ends opened out and hammered down. Both sides of this kind of mending are shown in Fig. 8, *d*.<sup>1</sup> In the other form (Fig. 8, *c*) a rivet has been passed through

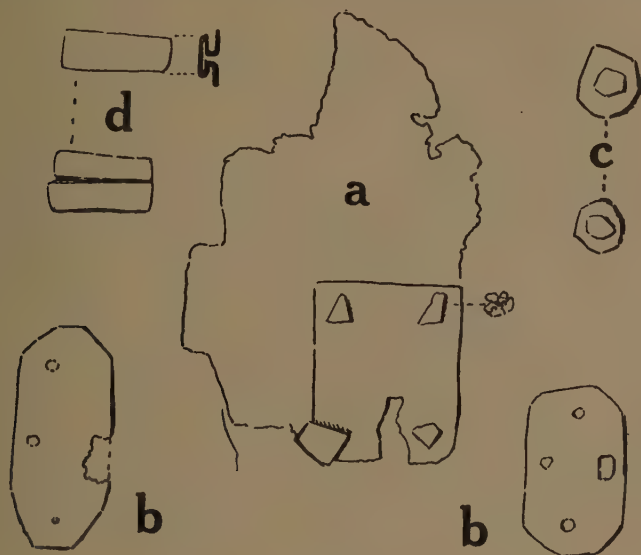


Fig. 8.

a small irregular-sided washer or collar of thin metal and the rivet flattened out at both ends.

The rivets used in all of the patches are made from the same kind of sheet-bronze as that of the body of the vessel. And in order to pass the rivets through the small round holes punched in the metal, the sheet-bronze seems to have been rolled into a cylindrical form like a paper-spill and then hammered down; the result being that on one side you have, in nearly all cases, a thin and more or less triangular or an irregular angular bit of the sheet-metal forming the head on one side (Fig. 8, *abc*) and an irregularly burred head on the other.

1. For similar forms of mending, cf. Willoughby Gardner, *Arch. Camb.*, LXXXII, p. 135, Fig. 7.

*Dimensions of the restored vessel.*—Height, 10 inches (·253 m.); diameter of rim,  $13\frac{1}{2}$  inches (·336 m.); maximum diameter of bulge,  $16\frac{1}{2}$  inches (·42 m.).

*Analysis of the metal.*—Professor C. O. Bannister, Department of Metallurgy, The University, Liverpool, gives the following analysis of the bronze :—

Copper	.	.	.	.	.	.	89·9%
Tin	.	.	.	.	.	.	9·7%
Lead	.	.	.	.	.	.	0·4%
							<hr/> 100·0%

He also adds :—

‘ This is practically the same composition as modern gun-metal. Microscopical examination shows that the metal has been worked and annealed.’

Found in a late second-century deposit, over the upper floor of room 6A. The vessel had been folded into a comparatively small and somewhat triangular mass, so that its form and dimensions seemed at first to have been utterly destroyed ; moreover, the outer portions of the metal which had been in contact with the soil were very badly corroded and in places almost reduced to a powder. Fortunately, however, some large sections of the metal had retained their flexibility or toughness, so that it was possible to straighten out the folds and indentions and thereby restore the vessel somewhat in its original form. Originally the dimensions may have been slightly larger—certainly not smaller. The form generally was that which the sections gave when hammered out.

Though our find is sadly imperfect, it seems to belong to the hemispherical class of cauldrons of the Late Bronze or Early Iron Age. What the rim was actually like it is impossible to say ; but whatever its form may have been, it seems clear that it had not been riveted to the body of the vessel as there are no rivet holes in the narrow, upright collar. Possibly the rim sat astride the body-wall or collar of the vessel, as in the examples belonging to the hoard found at Wotton,<sup>1</sup> or it may have been fitted with a vertical cordoned band, as in the fine example found recently in the River Cherwell at Oxford and now preserved in the Ashmolean Museum.

Many examples of the more or less hemispherical cauldrons have been

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1. Reginald Smith, *Proc. Soc. Antiquaries*, Vol. XXVII (1915), p. 83, Fig. 6.

found in Ireland,<sup>1</sup> but in these examples the body is made of several sheets of bronze riveted together.

Some of the vessels found in Ireland and elsewhere had been mended with small riveted patches of thin metal, and in the example found near Tuam,<sup>2</sup> figured by Armstrong, the small patch which is shown overlapping the larger one is clearly of the same form as those which were used to repair our vessel (Fig. 8, *bb*).

Whether or not our vessel is a survival of the late Hallstattian or of the La Tène period, to which the majority of the cauldrons found in this country seem to belong, is not quite clear, chiefly because of its association with Roman material finds belonging to the late second century; such an association gives a limiting date for its deposit, though clearly not for the period of its manufacture. In this connection the point to emphasise is, however, that similar discoveries of bronze vessels of Early British origin have been found elsewhere in Britain in association with Roman objects. For a full account of these the student should consult Mr. Reginald Smith's interesting paper.<sup>3</sup>

#### PAVEMENT TILES FROM THE MEDIAEVAL KILN

##### Plate LI

The tiles illustrated in this report were arranged in single columns, in the side walls of the kiln, between those with the angles chamfered off, the latter being those which formed the strikingly characteristic arches of the structure.<sup>4</sup>

None of these tiles was complete owing to imperfect baking. Like the other class of tiles they had also been fired *in situ*, with the result that the outer portions were in a more or less plastic condition. But the somewhat intricate design which these examples exhibit shows quite clearly that they had all been made from a set of four moulds, which formed a repeat pattern, with a St. Andrew's cross as the centre-piece. Each arm of the cross has a median row of twelve studs. The design at the four corners of the set of four tiles exhibits the segment of a circle with two convergent, trifoliate ornaments extending obliquely into the tile; the counter-sunk background formed by this portion of the design forms a striking resemblance to a crown, and it seems evident that four tiles are needed to

1. Armstrong, *Jour. Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland* (1924), Vol. LIV, pp. 109-115.

2. *Ib.*, Pl. II.

3. Reginald Smith, *loc. cit.*, pp. 89-94.

4. Cf. Part I, above, p. 17, Pl. V *d*.

complete this portion of the design—that is, a complete circle with four radial crowns.

These tiles are presumably of 14th-century origin and were commonly used in ecclesiastical buildings. The general design of our examples, however, seems to be somewhat unusual, and no parallels have been recorded from other parts of Chester.

#### ANIMAL REMAINS

**HORSE** (*Equus caballus*).—Remains of this animal were represented by three molar teeth.

**OXEN**.—Always abundant, more especially so in the pockets of refuse buried in the sand floors. The only race which could be determined with any degree of accuracy was the Celtic shorthorn (*Bos taurus longifrons*). The long bones, with rare exceptions, had been broken up, evidently for the sake of extracting the marrow. An interesting point, seeing that at the Fort of Newstead <sup>1</sup> 'there is little evidence that either marrow or brains formed part of the diet of the . . . garrison.'

**\*SHEEP**.—Rather sparingly met with; but four cores of a race with nearly straight, upright horns, were found lying together at the N. end of the Centurions' quarters. These horn cores seem to belong to *Ovis aries palustris*.

**\*ROEBUCK** (*Capreolus caprea*).—Left metatarsus. Coward (*Fauna of Cheshire*, p. 5) says: 'The Roebuck inhabited the Cheshire forests, and there is etymological evidence of its existence in Roelau, one of the hundreds into which the county was formerly divided.' But the remains of this animal are extremely rare in Roman deposits in Chester.

**RED DEER**.—This species is represented by portions of three antlers showing saw cuts.

**PIG or WILD BOAR**.—Both may be represented.

**\*DOG**.—A very large canine tooth showing knife-cuts on two surfaces.

**FROG** (*Rana temporaria*).—The skeletal remains of one example were found in the footings of the E. wall in block B.

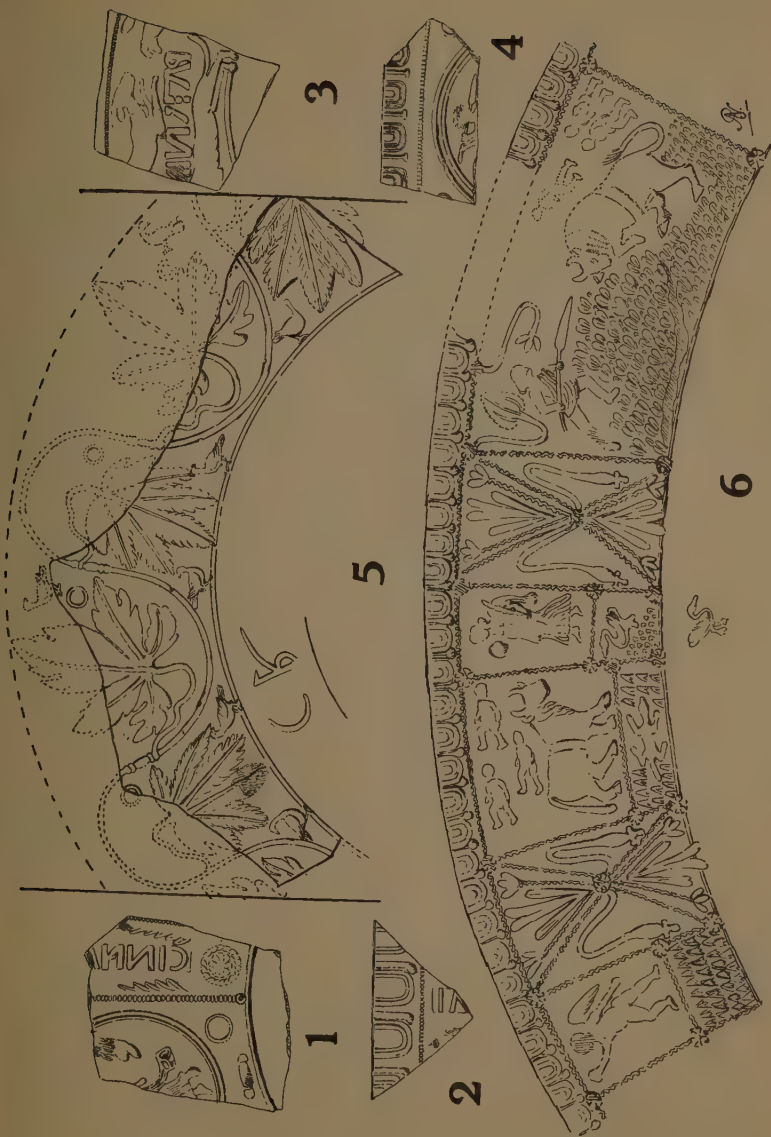
**FISH**.—The operculum of a fresh-water species, possibly belonging to the perch, was found in one of the pockets of refuse.

**DOMESTIC FOWL**.—Frequently met with, more especially in the small pockets of refuse in floors of the barrack blocks. Included among the

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1. Curle, *op. cit.*, p. 362.



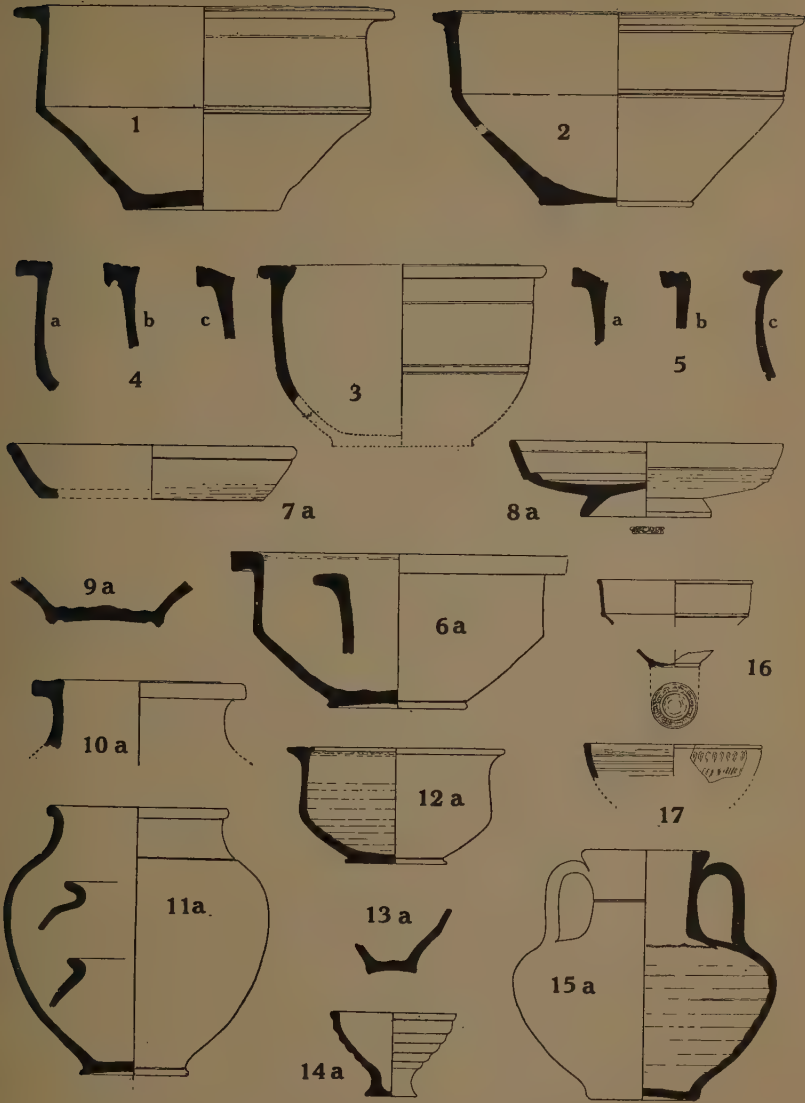


DEANERY FIELD, CHESTER. DECORATED SAMIAN.

Scale 1:2.



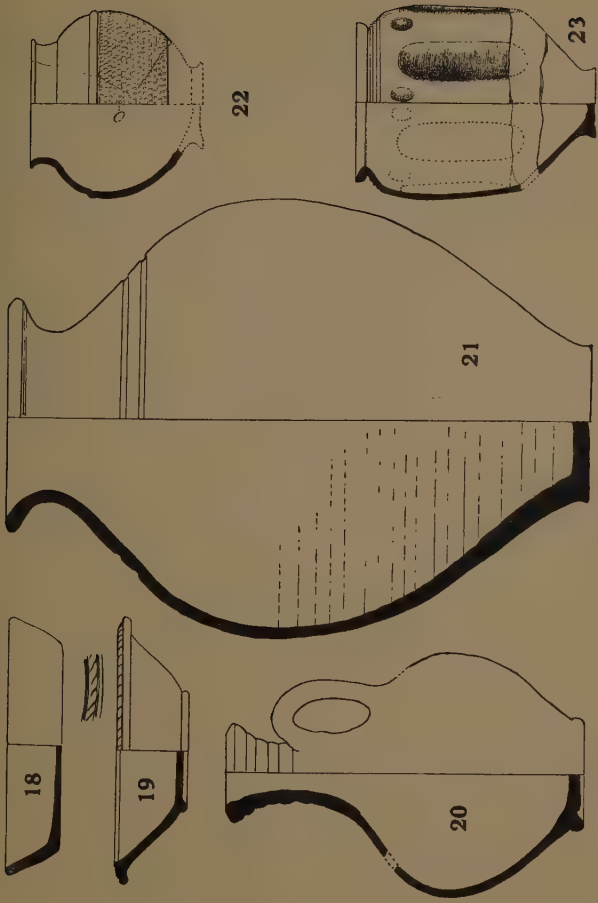




DEANERY FIELD, CHESTER. COARSE POTTERY.

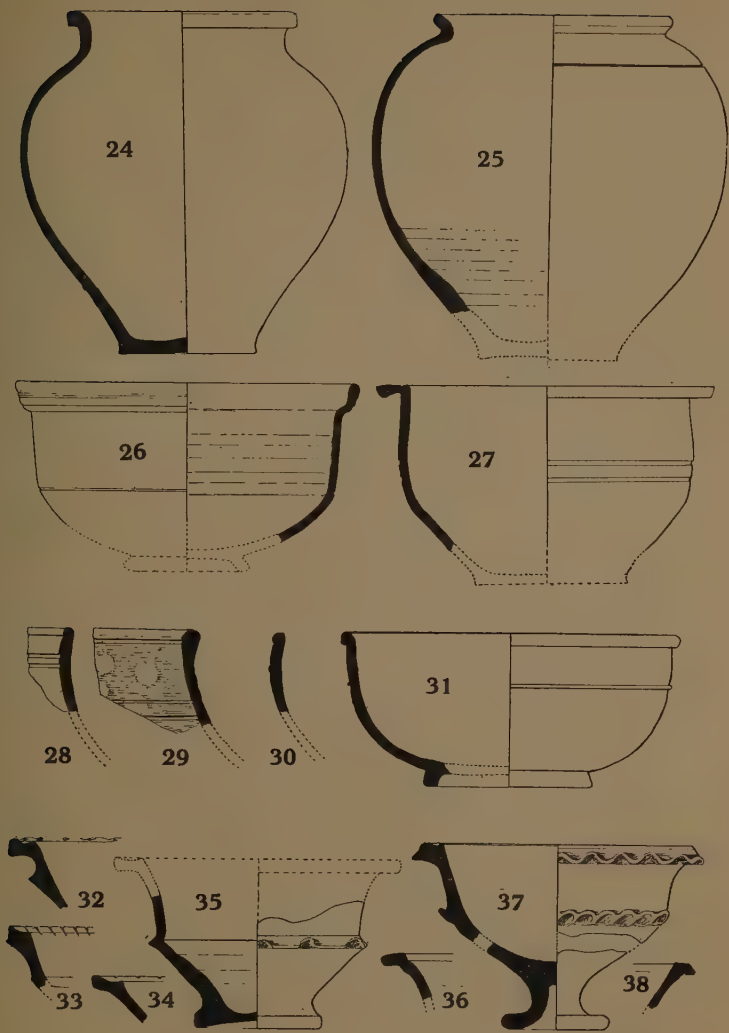
Scale 1:4.





DEANERY FIELD, CHESTER. COARSE POTTERY.  
Scale 1:4.

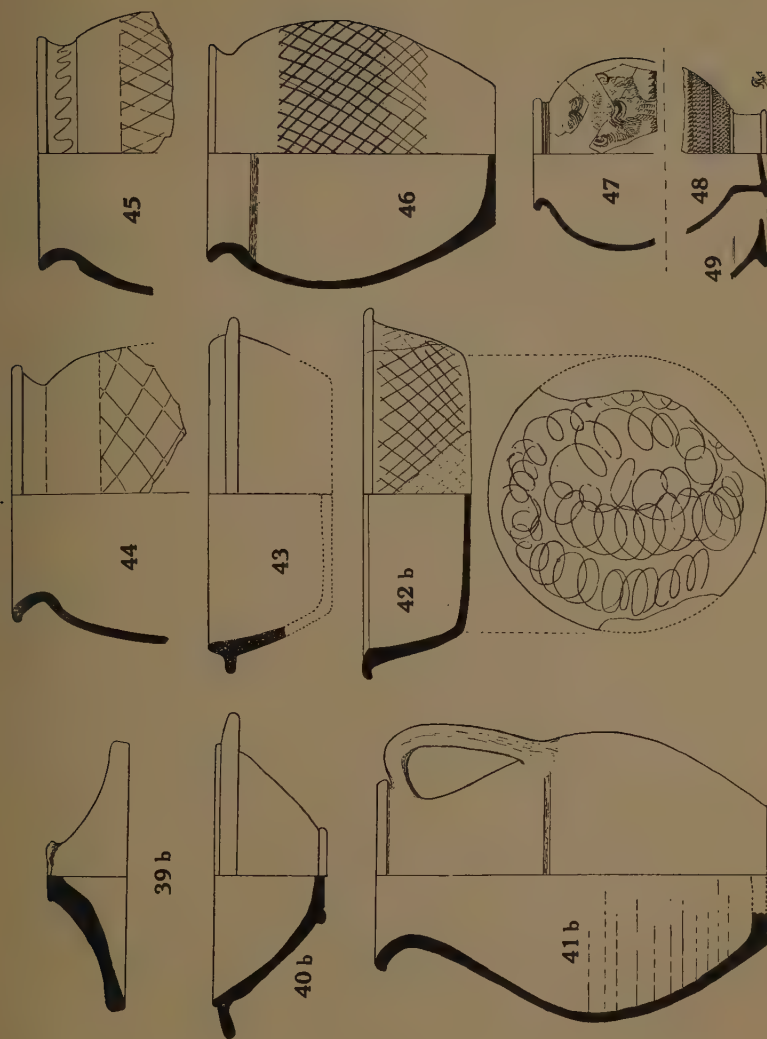




DEANERY FIELD, CHESTER. COARSE POTTERY.  
Scale 1:4.







DEANERY FIELD, CHESTER. COARSE POTTERY.

Scale 1:4.





DEANERY FIELD, CHESTER. BROOCHES, RINGS, STUDS, ETC.

Scale 2:3 approx.





DEANERY FIELD, CHESTER. BUCKLES, PENDANTS, CHAINS AND COUNTERS.  
Scale 2:3 approx.



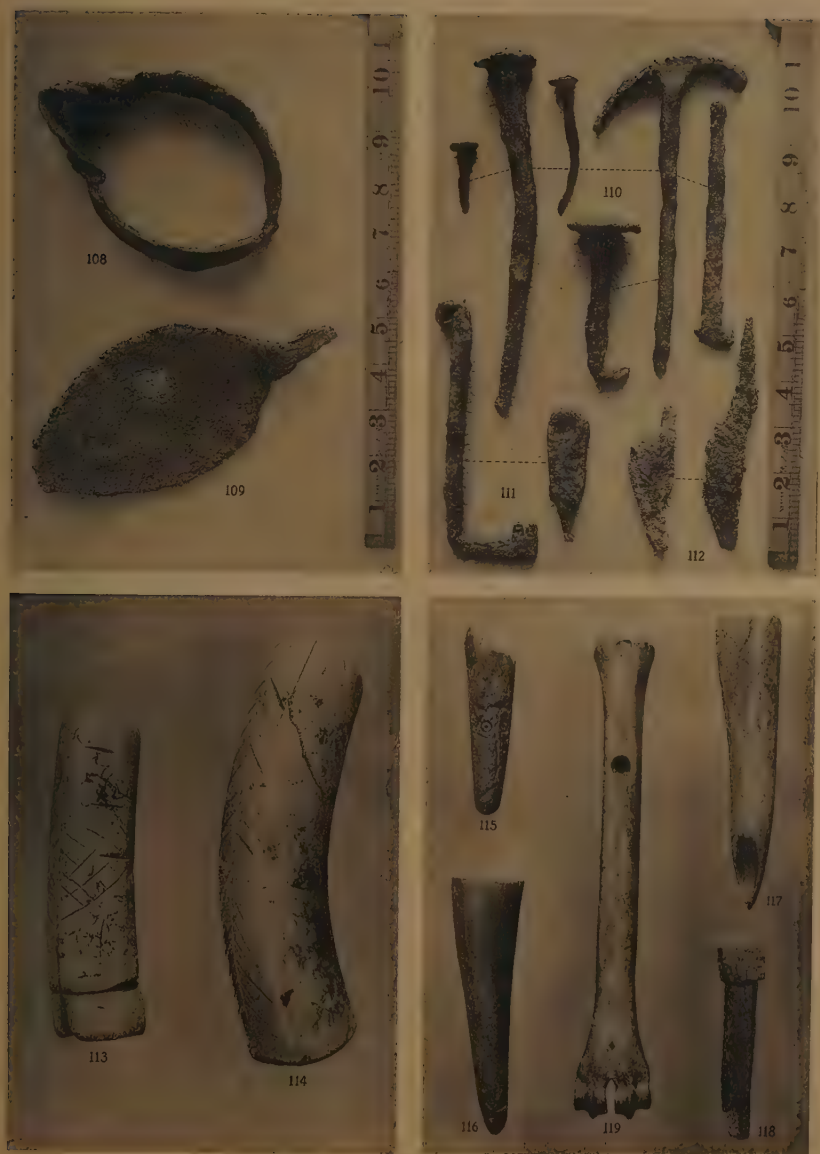




DEANERY FIELD, CHESTER. ARMS, ARMOUR AND LOCK FITTINGS.

Scale (where not marked) 2 : 3 approx.





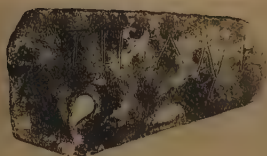
DEANERY FIELD, CHESTER. MISCELLANEOUS IRON AND BONE OBJECTS.

Scale (where not marked) 2:3 approx.

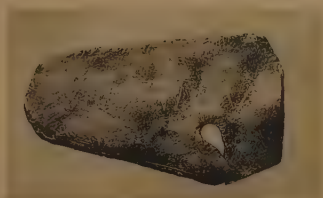




126



127



127 a



128



124

DEANERY FIELD, CHESTER. MISCELLANEOUS FINDS.

Scale (where not marked) 2:3 approx.







DEANERY FIELD, CHESTER. DESIGN ON TILES FROM MEDIAEVAL KILN.

Scale 1:2.



long bones are eight tarso-metatarsal, one with a large development of the exostosis carrying spur, measuring .026 m., belonging in all probability to a fighting cock.

\*GOOSE.—Species not determined. One sternum.

\*SWAN.—Species not determined. Part of ulna only.

\* Examples of those marked with an asterisk were very kindly determined at the British Museum by Dr. W. T. Calman, F.R.S., and Mr. Martin A. C. Hinton.

#### MOLLUSCA

Shells of the oyster were rather sparsely represented. On the other hand the comminuted shells of the common mussel were most abundant on the surface of the lower floors in rooms 15 and 18.

## REVIEWS

*The Great Tomb-Robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty.* By T. ERIC PEET. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1930. I, Text, pp. xii + 188; II, 39 plates.

This follows *The Mayer Papyri* and *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus* as a third great publication of papyri by an indefatigable specialist in hieratic. The new book forms a continuation of the work whose first part, the Liverpool (Mayer) Papyri, was published in 1920. The texts which are now put before us are highly important in several respects. First, a great deal of what is known about the history of the second part of the XXth Dynasty is derived from these papyri; secondly, they bring rich materials to the study of the economic and social conditions of the lower classes of the Theban population in the New Kingdom; and last, but not least, they furnish fresh examples to Egyptian grammar and lexicography.

All the twelve papyri dealt with in the book refer to the sad condition of the Theban Necropolis at the end of the Ramesside epoch, and thus form a homogeneous group. Their existence has long been known, but only very little of them has been adequately published in the past. Three papyri—Abbott, Amherst and Vienna—and one side of the fourth—Brit. Mus. 10053—were accessible in good facsimiles; the other side of the last and four others—Brit. Mus. 10052, 10054, 10068, 10403—are quite new, and of Brit. Mus. 10383 only a poor transcript had been given by Revillout long ago. Of the Turin Diary a sufficient account is given in the book, but of the two Liverpool papyri, published previously by the author himself, a revised translation should perhaps have been offered in the present book in order that the reader could consult it at ease, using the original publication only for the hieratic text and transcript. The mass of the new material will be more striking if we express it in lines: the texts contain in all 1458 lines, of which 1069 lines are published here for the first time.

The texts are given in hieroglyphic transcriptions in a large volume of plates written in the splendid script of Prof. Peet and his pupil Mr. Fairman. The author explains in the preface why he did not append any facsimile or photographs of the papyri, and his reasons must be accepted. Nevertheless one regrets the absence of reproductions, for they would be of inestimable value to those who would learn the difficult cursive hieratic. Where can they do this, since not everyone is able to undertake expensive studies of the originals themselves? For those, however, who wish only

to check the readings of doubtful groups, the neat facsimiles given by Prof. Peet of isolated groups and signs may be sufficient.



The text volume contains description, translation and notes on every papyrus given in the plates, together with a short account of the Liverpool and Turin papyri. The translations and the commentary are perfect; we should not expect otherwise from a scholar who has such a sense of grammar and sound criticism as the author. Where he finds himself obliged to put a note of interrogation, there is either a grave error on the part of the ancient scribe, or a bad lacuna in the papyrus, or an unknown word. Nobody can fully appreciate the work here done except he who has himself tried this kind of document.



At the beginning of the text volume there is a highly interesting general introduction containing the necessary information about the history of the XXth Dynasty, the topography and personnel of the Theban Necropolis, and the criminal procedure as revealed by our papyri.

In the opinion of the reviewer one thing is missing—an exhaustive index of proper names. We meet a vast number of different persons in the tomb-robberies papyri, and their affairs, as there related, are so complicated that such an index would be of use for following a given person through all the material, apart from the interest which it would have for the study of the proper names and the religion of that period.



There are some minor points to which the reviewer would call attention:—


p. 9. The word *hr* should always be rendered by 'tomb'; *p3 hr* is the tomb *par excellence*, therefore the 'King's Tomb,' the tomb of the reigning Pharaoh. Indeed all the men designed as *n p3 hr* are in the Pharaoh's service, and never work except for the Pharaoh and the members of his family. There is no mention of a *hr* of a private person. The 'great commander of the army,' Pap. Vienna 2.8, is in all probability Pi'onkh, son of the king Hrihor.

p. 67, note 19. The reviewer is unable to quote any example of the spelling of the proper name *kd·ht·f* with  alone, but  is attested; cf. Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, Indices, No. 77; unpubl. ostr. Gardiner, No. 16, vs. 2.





p. 67, note 22. Is it possible to read '*k3y*' for the word denoting the ship? '*k3y*' is feminine, and in view of Pap. Brit. Mus. 10054, 1.5, the strokes  would be here an abbreviation for .

p. 69, note 26. For *bw dg·f* with passive sense, cf. *Amenemope*, 11.9, *bw sdm·f*, 'it is not heard.'

p. 165, note 68. *hr* as substantive with a meaning similar to that accepted by Prof. Peet occurs also in the Cairo Pap. Cat. 58061, 3 (letter, end XXth Dyn.); *sdm·i p3 hr* ( ) *n3 mdt ih3b·k*.

In the transcriptions of Brit. Mus. 10052, 3.8 and 10.6, read .



instead of  and cf. the spelling of Pap. Leiden 370, vs. 8. In Brit. Mus. 10052, 1.12, the first sign in the line is undoubtedly . In Brit. Mus. 10054, vs. 2.3, *nfrt* *r* is probably written not with  but with the usual .

p. 45, line 4 from the bottom, probably the only slip of the pen which can be discovered in the book: 'transcription into hieratic' instead of 'into hieroglyphs.'

J. ČERNÝ.

*Excavations at Olynthus. Part III. The Coins found in 1928.* Pp. xii+129, with 28 Plates. *Part IV. The Terra-cottas found in 1928.* Pp. xii+105, with 62 Plates. By DAVID M. ROBINSON. The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology, Nos. 11 and 12. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. London: Humphrey Milford. Price 45s. each.

Professor Robinson is to be congratulated on the rapidity with which he has been able to present to the world the results of his work at Olynthus. It is less than three years since the beginning of the excavation, and already Parts I and II, dealing with the neolithic finds, and with the excavation in general and the architectural remains, have been noticed in these pages. Now we have what seems an exhaustive publication of the coins, the chief interest of which lies perhaps in the light they shed on the widespread trade of the city; and of the terra-cottas, which have a twofold claim to our notice: first, as presenting as Hellenic various types hitherto generally considered to be Hellenistic, and secondly, as proving, by being found many of them in houses, that such figures were made not necessarily for funerary purposes but sometimes at least as ornaments for the home.

The illustrations are numerous and on the whole adequate, though in Part IV the photographs are not well reproduced and have had their backgrounds painted out. No scales are attached to the plates though measurements are given in the text. It was perhaps a mistake when reproducing figures from the same mould on the same plate not to have ensured that they should be on the same scale (Part IV, Plates II and 46), and it is a pity that the map in Part III should be disfigured by bad lettering. Moreover, the desired comparison between photographs from the actual coins and photographs from casts (Part III, Plates II and III, and XXVII and XXVIII) would be easier to make if care had been taken to have the light in each case from the same side.

Incidentally a comparison between these two volumes emphasises the superiority of collotype (Part III) over half-tone (Part IV) for archaeological reproduction.

J. P. DROOP.

*The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the Light of Archaeology.* By STANLEY COOK, M.A., Litt.D. Pp. xv+252, with 39 Plates and 2 Maps. Clarendon Press. 12s. 6d.

Those who, having read the title of this book and the name of its author, look in it expectantly for light upon the development of Yahvism and the way in which the religion of Israel was materially affected by the cults amidst which it was implanted, will experience a certain measure of disappointment. The work is not a synthetic study, but an analysis of the archaeological materials, and might, we suggest, have been better entitled 'The Religious Antiquities of Palestine.' As such it forms a valuable and up-to-date work of reference, bringing together with great learning and labour all the cult remains discovered in the course of investigation, including recent excavations, together with such comparative data, derived largely from beyond the confines of Palestine, as may help in their interpretation. The author has evidently designed his work in this way, doubting whether any more generalised or definite conclusions are possible with our present knowledge.

Notwithstanding the success of Dr. Cook's endeavour, we cannot help regretting that he did not feel the bigger claim upon his scholarship. The volume is divided into three chapters, of which the first deals with miscellaneous cult-objects not classified historically, the second with cults and objects of the early, *i.e.* the Oriental, period, the third with those of the Graeco-Roman Age. The second group contains all the materials for illustrating the religion or religions of Palestine at the incoming of Israel; but there is no attempt to describe, or to help imagination to visualise, the real character of the religion of those days. Of recent excavations, that of Bethshan is unquestionably the most important for this purpose, but though he summarises adequately (albeit rather briefly) Mr. Rowe's description of the Mekal Temple, he makes no effort to interpret this curious complex of buildings or to reconstruct even tentatively the worship which took place therein. Was this complex associated with the residence of a priestly-dynast, or was it purely a sanctuary of the deity? Dr. Cook clearly regards all such problems as too speculative, or at any rate beyond his purview. Perhaps he is right; but his studied opinion would have been of value and have marked a step forward in our interpretation of the monuments. As it is, no one who hereafter attempts the bolder design of bringing the dry bones of these ancient cults to life will be able to do so without mastering the information contained in the pages of this instructive volume.

The book is printed by the Oxford University Press, a fact which speaks for itself. It is singularly free from misprints, but we point out a slip of the pen on p. 99, n. 1, where *Kiriath Jearim* appears for *Kiriath-Sepher*. The illustrations are well produced, but would be more useful with fuller captions and page references. On the whole the index is adequate, but it would be improved here and there by further subdivision by subjects.

Thus the 'Temple of Jerusalem' has twelve different page references, without indication as to the aspect treated in these various instances, always a desideratum in a work of reference. It must be emphasised, however, that this criticism is not general, *e.g.* the name Yahweh on the same page (252) is very fully indexed under various sub-headings. The book claims a place on the student's shelf, like that of Driver, as indispensable to the subject.

J. GARSTANG.

*A Catalogue of the Greek Vases in the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology, Toronto.* By DAVID M. ROBINSON, Ph.D., etc., and CORNELIA G. HARCUM, Ph.D. Edited by J. H. ILIFFE, M.A. Vol. I, Text and Drawings. Pp. vi+287; Vol. II, Plates I-CVIII. The University of Toronto Press. \$10.

In 1919 the Royal Ontario Museum was fortunate enough, through the generosity of Mr. Sigmund Samuel, to supplement its store of ancient pottery by securing the collection of Greek, Etruscan and Roman vases formed by Dr. W. Allen Sturge of Mildenhall, Suffolk. Such a collection deserved a good catalogue, and this, which is in the main the work of Professor Robinson, seems worthy of its subject. It includes Cypriote, Greek (prehistoric and classical), Etruscan and Italic vases, the bulk being classical Greek, leaving the Roman and Chinese pottery for subsequent volumes.

Though it did not seem 'necessary to write a history of Greek vase painting,' I note with pleasure that this is a book from which the student can learn, while the road to yet further information is pointed by references to other works relevant to each item.

It is difficult to find subject for criticism. No. 120, to judge from the plate, might have been called Boeotian without much fear of contradiction; it is to be presumed that the description of No. 356 had been set up before Professor Beazley's ascription of that vase to Makron had appeared; and it is not easy to see why out of the five vases Nos. 354-358 the 'Euphronian circle' should be mentioned in connection with one only, No. 357.

I note that No. 289 is described as a 'Droop' cup. This description will probably appear sound enough to those who agree with Professor Beazley about this group of Attic cups. For in proposing to call by my name this group which I had noted (*J.H.S.*, XXX, pp. 21-27) as apparently imitating the decoration of Spartan pottery, Professor Beazley (*J.H.S.*, XLIX, p. 271) says, with his usual firmness, that he sees 'no reason to suspect Laconian influence.' Now there is certainly no reason to suspect Laconian influence in No. 289. Those therefore who agree with Professor Beazley may well include this cup in that class, for it bears one pattern (not Laconian) which appears on four of the cups which I illustrated. It resembles in fact certain of the vases of the group that I formed in features that are unessential and had nothing to do with my

putting them together. Since, however, it shows at most two possibly Laconian features amid much that is not Laconian, I at any rate cannot agree that it has a right to be included in that company.

The illustrations are very full and on the whole excellent, though it is to be regretted that the good photographs of the plates, which are well reproduced in half-tone, have had their backgrounds painted out.

J. P. DROOP.

*A Comparative Study of the Literatures of Egypt, Palestine, and Mesopotamia: Egypt's Contribution to the Literature of the Ancient World.*

By T. ERIC PEET, M.A. The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy, 1929. Oxford University Press, 1931.

Thanks to the admirable marshalling of his facts, Professor Peet will in these three lectures have probably succeeded in gaining for Egyptian literature a position that literary criticism has hitherto been unwilling to assign it. What will appeal to scholars is the sober manner in which he has framed his plea for the due recognition of the debt that not only Hebrew literature, but literature as a whole, owes to the ancient Egyptians. Most refreshing is his avoidance of that exasperatingly excessive enthusiasm that characterises some of the books dealing with this aspect of Egyptological studies.

Professor Peet quotes widely from the three literatures with which his lectures are concerned, and his conclusions are these.

Babylonia is probably the inventor of the Epic, in which branch of literature, judging from what survives, she surpassed Egypt, but was herself easily surpassed by the Hebrews, who may well have developed their remarkable powers of story-telling under Babylonian influence.

Egypt is the home of the short story, and in Egypt were written the oldest known stories that possess psychological interest and produce atmosphere, the two most notable examples being the Middle Kingdom *Story of Sinuhe* and the late New Kingdom *Adventures of Wenamün*. Of the latter Professor Peet rightly says: 'This is a story to be set side by side with some of the best things in the Old Testament, the story of Jonah and his mission, or that of Ruth amid the alien corn. Let us not forget that it is five centuries earlier than either.' On the whole, however, the prize for story-telling is to be given to the Hebrews.

With regard to lyric poetry, both Egypt and Babylonia produced works of great merit, the Egyptians probably being the inventors of love-poetry, and beautiful love-poetry too, this being in Professor Peet's opinion one of their chief contributions to literature. Yet in both branches of lyric poetry, profane as well as sacred, the Hebrews excelled their masters.

It was in wisdom-literature, the lecturer maintains, that Egypt achieved her highest literary distinction, and he is willing to allow that on the whole the Egyptian genius for this style of composition was quite as lively as the Hebrew.



The literary quality in which both the Babylonians and the Egyptians were lacking is what the lecturer designates 'the art of conjuring with words,' which was the discovery of the Greeks, in the first place of Homer, and, in a still more developed sense, of the tragedians and lyric poets.

Professor Peet ends his last lecture by insisting on the immense importance of the position occupied by the Egyptians in the history of ancient literature. As early as 2000 B.C. they had a national literature of a high order, for which they were indebted probably to no outside influence. 'Greek literature cannot have sprung full-grown like Venus from the waves . . . and though we may never learn the manner in which Egyptian influence made its way into Hebrew and into Greek literature, it may reasonably be doubted whether either the one or the other would have been what it is had it not been for Egypt.'

Now for one or two criticisms.

Surely Professor Peet is mistaken (p. 41) in placing the story contained in the *Westcar Papyrus* in one group with those contained in the *D'Orbiney Papyrus* and *Harris 500*, and in speaking of them all as belonging to the New Empire and 'written in the popular language of that period, known to philologists as Late Egyptian.' According to Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, i, p. 18, the *Westcar Papyrus* dates from the Hyksos Period. The language of the tale contained in it is the popular language of the Middle Kingdom, something very different to the Late Egyptian (popular language of the later New Empire) in which the *Two Brothers* (*D'Orbiney Papyrus*) and the *Doomed Prince* (*Harris 500*) actually are composed. The *Westcar Papyrus* story, therefore, probably dates from the end of the Middle Kingdom, and cannot at the latest be later than the Second Intermediate Period.

Again, while asserting that Hebrew literature was much influenced by that of Egypt, Professor Peet has practically nothing to say as to when this influence was exercised; he merely throws out a suggestion (pp. 109 f.) that Egyptian wisdom-literature may have made its chief impression on the Hebrews at the time of the Ramesside conquests, when Egyptian influence in Syria was strongest.

I cannot help feeling that there is much more to be said for the suggestion put forward in my essay in D. C. Simpson's *The Psalmists*, pp. 192 ff., namely that it was under the later Monarchy, through the medium of the Semitic scribes employed in Egypt, that Egyptian literary influences first began to make themselves seriously felt among the Hebrews. To this suggestion, which, in view of the evidence adduced, deserves careful consideration, Professor Peet does not even allude.

But these are small points in comparison with the attainment of the lecturer's main objective, which is to gain for Egypt the high place that is rightfully hers in the history of literature. That he has been entirely successful in this respect will assuredly be the view of all who read these three lectures as carefully as they deserve to be read.

AYLWARD M. BLACKMAN.

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UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL



ANNALS

OF

ARCHAEOLOGY

AND

ANTHROPOLOGY

Issued by  
The  
Liverpool  
Institute  
of  
Archaeology

Published  
March 1931

*The University Press of Liverpool*

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